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Chinese-English

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周秉钧 今译

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总 序

杨牧之

《大中华文库》终于出版了。我们为之高兴，为之鼓舞，但也倍感压力。

当此之际，我们愿将郁积在我们心底的话，向读者倾诉。

—

中华民族有着悠久的历史 and 灿烂的文化，系统、准确地将中华民族的文化经典翻译成外文，编辑出版，介绍给全世界，是几代中国人的愿望。早在几十年前，西方一位学者翻译《红楼梦》，将书名译成《一个红楼上的梦》，将林黛玉译为“黑色的玉”。我们一方面对外国学者将中国的名著介绍到世界上去表示由衷的感谢，一方面为祖国的名著还不被完全认识，甚而受到曲解，而感到深深的遗憾。还有西方学者翻译《金瓶梅》，专门摘选其中自然主义描述最为突出的篇章加以译介。一时间，西方学者好像发现了奇迹，掀起了《金瓶梅》热，说中国是“性开放的源头”，公开地在报刊上鼓吹中国要“发扬开放之传统”。还有许多资深、友善的汉学家译介中国古代的哲学著作，在把中华民族文化介绍给全世界的工作方面作出了重大贡献，但或囿于理解有误，或缘于对中国文字认识的局限，质量上乘的并不多，常常是隔靴搔痒，说不到点子上。大哲学家黑格尔曾经说过：中国有最



完备的国史。但他认为中国古代没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前状态。这么了不起的哲学家竟然作出这样大失水准的评论，何其不幸。正如任何哲学家都要受时间、地点、条件的制约一样，黑格尔也离不开这一规律。当时他也只能从上述水平的汉学家译过去的文字去分析、理解，所以，黑格尔先生对中国古代社会的认识水平是什么状态，也就不难想象了。

中国离不开世界，世界也缺少不了中国。中国文化摄取外域的新成分，丰富了自己，又以自己的新成就输送给别人，贡献于世界。从公元5世纪开始到公元15世纪，大约有一千年，中国走在世界的前列。在这一千多年的时间里，她的光辉照耀全世界。人类要前进，怎么能不全面认识中国，怎么能不认真研究中国的历史呢？

二

中华民族是伟大的，曾经辉煌过，蓝天、白云、阳光灿烂，和平而兴旺；也有过黑暗的、想起来就让人战栗的日子，但中华民族从来是充满理想，不断追求，不断学习，渴望和平与友谊的。

中国古代伟大的思想家孔子曾经说过：“三人行，必有我师焉。择其善者而从之，其不善者而改之。”孔子的话就是要人们向别人学习。这段话正是概括了整个中华民族与人交往的原则。人与人之间交往如此，在与周边的国家交往中也是如此。

秦始皇第一个统一了中国，可惜在位只有十几年，来不及做更多的事情。汉朝继秦而继续强大，便开始走出去，了



解自己周边的世界。公元前 138 年，汉武帝派张骞出使西域。他带着一万头牛羊，总值一万万钱的金帛货物，作为礼物，开始西行，最远到过“安息”（即波斯）。公元 73 年，班超又率 36 人出使西域。36 个人按今天的话说，也只有一个排，显然是为了拜访未曾见过面的邻居，是去交朋友。到了西域，班超派遣甘英作为使者继续西行，往更远处的大秦国（即罗马）去访问，“乃抵条支而历安息，临西海以望大秦”（《后汉书·西域传》）。“条支”在“安息”以西，即今天的伊拉克、叙利亚一带，“西海”应是今天的地中海。也就是说甘英已经到达地中海边上，与罗马帝国隔海相望，“临大海欲渡”，却被人劝阻而未成行，这在历史上留下了遗憾。可以想见班超、甘英沟通友谊的无比勇气和强烈愿望。接下来是唐代的玄奘，历经千难万险，到“西天”印度取经，带回了南亚国家的古老文化。归国后，他把带回的佛教经典组织人翻译，到后来很多经典印度失传了，但中国却保存完好，以至于今天，没有玄奘的《大唐西域记》，印度人很难编写印度古代史。明代郑和“七下西洋”，把中华文化传到东南亚一带。鸦片战争以后，一代又一代先进的中国人，为了振兴中华，又前赴后继，向西方国家学习先进的科学思想和文明成果。这中间有我们的领导人朱德、周恩来、邓小平；有许许多多大科学家、文学家、艺术家，如郭沫若、李四光、钱学森、冼星海、徐悲鸿等。他们的追求、奋斗，他们的博大胸怀、兼收并蓄的精神，为人类社会增添了光彩。

中国文化的形成和发展过程，就是一个以众为师、以各国人民为师，不断学习和创造的过程。中华民族曾经向周边国家和民族学习过许多东西，假如没有这些学习，中华民族绝不可能创造出昔日的辉煌。回顾历史，我们怎么能够不对



伟大的古埃及文明、古希腊文明、古印度文明满怀深深的感激？怎么能够不对伟大的欧洲文明、非洲文明、美洲文明、澳洲文明，以及中国周围的亚洲文明充满温情与敬意？

中华民族为人类社会曾作出过独特的贡献。在 15 世纪以前，中国的科学技术一直处于世界遥遥领先的地位。英国科学家李约瑟说：“中国在公元 3 世纪到 13 世纪之间，保持着一个西方所望尘莫及的科学知识水平。”美国耶鲁大学教授、《大国的兴衰》的作者保罗·肯尼迪坦言：“在近代以前时期的所有文明中，没有一个国家的文明比中国更发达，更先进。”

世界各国的有识之士千里迢迢来中国观光、学习。在这个过程中，中国唐朝的长安城渐渐发展成为国际大都市。西方的波斯、东罗马，东亚的高丽、新罗、百济、南天竺、北天竺，频繁前来。外国的王侯、留学生，在长安供职的外国官员，商贾、乐工和舞士，总有几十个国家，几万人之多。日本派出“遣唐使”更是一批接一批。传为美谈的日本人阿倍仲麻吕（晁衡）在长安留学的故事，很能说明外国人与中国的交往。晁衡学成仕于唐朝，前后历时五十余年。晁衡与中国的知识分子结下了深厚的友情。他归国时，传说在海中遇难身亡。大诗人李白作诗哭悼：“日本晁卿辞帝都，征帆一片远蓬壶。明月不归沉碧海，白云愁色满苍梧。”晁衡遇险是误传，但由此可见中外学者之间在中国长安交往的情谊。

后来，不断有外国人到中国来探寻秘密，所见所闻，常常让他们目瞪口呆。《希腊纪事》（希腊人波桑尼阿著）记载公元 2 世纪时，希腊人在中国的见闻。书中写道：“赛里斯人用小米和青芦喂一种类似蜘蛛的昆虫，喂到第五年，虫肚子胀裂开，便从里面取出丝来。”从这段对中国古代养蚕



技术的描述，可见当时欧洲人与中国人的差距。公元9世纪中叶，阿拉伯人来到中国。一位阿拉伯作家在他所著的《中国印度闻见录》中记载了曾旅居中国的阿拉伯商人的见闻：

——一天，一个外商去拜见驻守广州的中国官吏。会见时，外商总盯着官吏的胸部，官吏很奇怪，便问：“你好像总盯着我的胸，这是怎么回事？”那位外商回答说：“透过你穿的丝绸衣服，我隐约看到你胸口上长着一个黑痣，这是什么丝绸，我感到十分惊奇。”官吏听后，失声大笑，伸出胳膊，说：“请你数数吧，看我穿了几件衣服？”那商人数过，竟然穿了五件之多，黑痣正是透过这五层丝绸衣服显现出来的。外商惊得目瞪口呆，官吏说：“我穿的丝绸还不算是最好的，总督穿的要更精美。”

——书中关于茶（他们叫干草叶子）的记载，可见阿拉伯国家当时还没有喝茶的习惯。书中记述：“中国国王本人的收入主要靠盐税和泡开水喝的一种干草税。在各个城市里，这种干草叶售价都很高，中国人称这种草叶叫‘茶’，这种干草叶比苜蓿的叶子还多，也略比它香，稍有苦味，用开水冲喝，治百病。”

——他们对中国的医疗条件十分羡慕，书中记载道：“中国人医疗条件很好，穷人可以从国库中得到药费。”还说：“城市里，很多地方立一石碑，高10肘，上面刻有各种疾病和药物，写明某种病用某种药医治。”

——关于当时中国的京城，书中作了生动的描述：中国的京城很大，人口众多，一条宽阔的长街把全城分为两半，大街右边的东区，住着皇帝、宰相、禁军及皇家的总管、奴婢。在这个区域，沿街开凿了小河，流水潺潺；路旁，葱茏的树木整然有序，一幢幢宅邸鳞次栉比。大街左边的西区，



住着庶民和商人。这里有货栈和商店，每当清晨，人们可以看到，皇室的总管、宫廷的仆役，或骑马或步行，到这里来采购。

此后的史籍对西人来华的记载，渐渐多了起来。13 世纪意大利旅行家马可·波罗，尽管有人对他是否真的到过中国持怀疑态度，但他留下一部记述元代事件的《马可·波罗游记》却是确凿无疑的。这部游记中的一些关于当时中国的描述使得西方人认为是“天方夜谭”。总之，从中西文化交流史来说，这以前的时期还是一个想象和臆测的时代，相互之间充满了好奇与幻想。

从 16 世纪末开始，由于航海技术的发展，东西方航路的开通，随着一批批传教士来华，中国与西方开始了直接的交流。沟通中西的使命在意大利传教士利玛窦那里有了充分的体现。利玛窦于 1582 年来华，1610 年病逝于北京，在华二十余年。除了传教以外，做了两件具有历史象征意义的事，一是 1594 年前后在韶州用拉丁文翻译《四书》，并作了注释；二是与明代学者徐光启合作，用中文翻译了《几何原本》。

西方传教士对《四书》等中国经典的粗略翻译，以及杜赫德的《中华帝国志》等书对中国的介绍，在西方读者的眼前展现了一个异域文明，在当时及稍后一段时期引起了一场“中国热”，许多西方大思想家的眼光都曾注目于中国文化。有的推崇中华文明，如莱布尼兹、伏尔泰、魁奈等，有的对中华文明持批评态度，如孟德斯鸠、黑格尔等。莱布尼兹认识到中国文化的某些思想与他的观念相近，如周易的卦象与他发明的二进制相契合，对中国文化给予了热情的礼赞；黑格尔则从他整个哲学体系的推演出发，认为中国没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前的状态。但是，不论是推崇还



是批评，是吸纳还是排斥，中西文化的交流产生了巨大的影响。随着先进的中国科学技术的西传，特别是中国的造纸、火药、印刷术和指南针四大发明的问世，大大改变了世界的面貌。马克思说：“中国的火药把骑士阶层炸得粉碎，指南针打开了世界市场并建立了殖民地，而印刷术则变成了新教的工具，变成对精神发展创造必要前提的最强大的杠杆。”英国的哲学家培根说：中国的四大发明“改变了全世界的面貌和一切事物的状态”。

三

大千世界，潮起潮落。云散云聚，万象更新。中国古代产生了无数伟大的科学家：祖冲之、李时珍、孙思邈、张衡、沈括、毕昇……产生了无数科技成果：《齐民要术》、《九章算术》、《伤寒杂病论》、《本草纲目》……以及保存至今的世界奇迹：浑天仪、地动仪、都江堰、敦煌石窟、大运河、万里长城……但从15世纪下半叶起，风水似乎从东方转到了西方，落后的欧洲只经过400年便成为世界瞩目的文明中心。英国的牛顿、波兰的哥白尼、德国的伦琴、法国的居里、德国的爱因斯坦、意大利的伽利略、俄国的门捷列夫、美国的费米和爱迪生……光芒四射，令人敬仰。

中华民族开始思考了。潮起潮落究竟是什么原因？中国人发明的火药，传到欧洲，转眼之间反成为欧洲列强轰击中国大门的炮弹，又是因为什么？

鸦片战争终于催醒了中国人沉睡的迷梦，最先“睁眼看世界”的一代精英林则徐、魏源迈出了威武雄壮的一步。曾国藩、李鸿章搞起了洋务运动。中国的知识分子喊出“民主



与科学”的口号。中国是落后了，中国的志士仁人在苦苦探索。但落后中饱含着变革的动力，探索中孕育着崛起的希望。“向科学进军”，中华民族终于又迎来了科学的春天。

今天，世界毕竟来到了 21 世纪的门槛。分散隔绝的世界，逐渐变成联系为一体的世界。现在，全球一体化趋势日益明显，人类历史也就在愈来愈大的程度上成为全世界的历史。当今，任何一种文化的发展都离不开对其他优秀文化的汲取，都以其他优秀文化的发展为前提。在近现代，西方文化汲取中国文化，不仅是中国文化的传播，更是西方文化自身的创新和发展；正如中国文化对西方文化的汲取一样，既是西方文化在中国的传播，同时也是中国文化在近代的转型和发展。地球上所有的人类文化，都是我们共同的宝贵遗产。既然我们生活的各个大陆，在地球史上曾经是连成一气的“泛大陆”，或者说是一个完整的“地球村”，那么，我们同样可以在这个以知识和学习为特征的网络时代，走上相互学习、共同发展的大路，建设和开拓我们人类崭新的“地球村”。

西学仍在东渐，中学也将西传。各国人民的优秀文化正日益迅速地为中国文化所汲取，而无论西方和东方，也都需要从中国文化中汲取养分。正是基于这一认识，我们组织出版汉英对照版《大中华文库》，全面系统地翻译介绍中国传统文化典籍。我们试图通过《大中华文库》，向全世界展示，中华民族五千年的追求、五千年的梦想，正在新的历史时期重放光芒。中国人民就像火后的凤凰，万众一心，迎接新世纪文明的太阳。

1999 年 8 月 北京



PREFACE TO THE *LIBRARY OF CHINESE CLASSICS*

Yang Muzhi

The publication of the *Library of Chinese Classics* is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us who have been involved in the production of this monumental work. At the same time, we feel a weighty sense of responsibility, and take this opportunity to explain to our readers the motivation for undertaking this cross-century task.

1

The Chinese nation has a long history and a glorious culture, and it has been the aspiration of several generations of Chinese scholars to translate, edit and publish the whole corpus of the Chinese literary classics so that the nation's greatest cultural achievements can be introduced to people all over the world. There have been many translations of the Chinese classics done by foreign scholars. A few dozen years ago, a Western scholar translated the title of *A Dream of Red Mansions* into "A Dream of Red Chambers" and Lin Daiyu, the heroine in the novel, into "Black Jade." But while their endeavours have been laudable, the results of their labours have been less than satisfactory. Lack of knowledge of Chinese culture and an inadequate grasp of the Chinese written language have led the translators into many errors. As a consequence, not only are Chinese classical writings widely misunderstood in the rest of the world, in some cases their content has actually been distorted. At one time, there was a "*Jin Ping Mei* craze" among Western scholars, who thought that they had uncovered a miraculous phenomenon, and published theories claiming that China was the "fountainhead of eroticism," and that a Chinese "tradition of permissiveness" was about to be laid bare. This distorted view came about due to the translators of the *Jin Ping Mei* (*Plum in the Golden Vase*) putting one-sided stress on the raw elements in that novel,



to the neglect of its overall literary value. Meanwhile, there have been many distinguished and well-intentioned Sinologists who have attempted to make the culture of the Chinese nation more widely known by translating works of ancient Chinese philosophy. However, the quality of such work, in many cases, is unsatisfactory, often missing the point entirely. The great philosopher Hegel considered that ancient China had no philosophy in the real sense of the word, being stuck in philosophical “prehistory.” For such an eminent authority to make such a colossal error of judgment is truly regrettable. But, of course, Hegel was just as subject to the constraints of time, space and other objective conditions as anyone else, and since he had to rely for his knowledge of Chinese philosophy on inadequate translations it is not difficult to imagine why he went so far off the mark.

China cannot be separated from the rest of the world; and the rest of the world cannot ignore China. Throughout its history, Chinese civilization has enriched itself by absorbing new elements from the outside world, and in turn has contributed to the progress of world civilization as a whole by transmitting to other peoples its own cultural achievements. From the 5th to the 15th centuries, China marched in the front ranks of world civilization. If mankind wishes to advance, how can it afford to ignore China? How can it afford not to make a thoroughgoing study of its history?

2

Despite the ups and downs in their fortunes, the Chinese people have always been idealistic, and have never ceased to forge ahead and learn from others, eager to strengthen ties of peace and friendship.

The great ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius once said, “Wherever three persons come together, one of them will surely be able to teach me something. I will pick out his good points and emulate them; his bad points I will reform.” Confucius meant by this that we should always be ready to learn from others. This maxim encapsulates the principle the Chinese people have always followed in their dealings with other peoples, not only on an individual basis but also at the level of state-to-state relations.

After generations of internecine strife, China was unified by Emperor



Qin Shi Huang (the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty) in 221 B.C. The Han Dynasty, which succeeded that of the short-lived Qin, waxed powerful, and for the first time brought China into contact with the outside world. In 138 B.C., Emperor Wu dispatched Zhang Qian to the western regions, i.e. Central Asia. Zhang, who traveled as far as what is now Iran, took with him as presents for the rulers he visited on the way 10,000 head of sheep and cattle, as well as gold and silks worth a fabulous amount. In 73 D.C., Ban Chao headed a 36-man legation to the western regions. These were missions of friendship to visit neighbours the Chinese people had never met before and to learn from them. Ban Chao sent Gan Ying to explore further toward the west. According to the "Western Regions Section" in the *Book of Later Han*, Gan Ying traveled across the territories of present-day Iraq and Syria, and reached the Mediterranean Sea, an expedition which brought him within the confines of the Roman Empire. Later, during the Tang Dynasty, the monk Xuan Zang made a journey fraught with danger to reach India and seek the knowledge of that land. Upon his return, he organized a team of scholars to translate the Buddhist scriptures, which he had brought back with him. As a result, many of these scriptural classics which were later lost in India have been preserved in China. In fact, it would have been difficult for the people of India to reconstruct their own ancient history if it had not been for Xuan Zang's *A Record of a Journey to the West in the Time of the Great Tang Dynasty*. In the Ming Dynasty, Zheng He transmitted Chinese culture to Southeast Asia during his seven voyages. Following the Opium Wars in the mid-19th century, progressive Chinese, generation after generation, went to study the advanced scientific thought and cultural achievements of the Western countries. Their aim was to revive the fortunes of their own country. Among them were people who were later to become leaders of China, including Zhu De, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. In addition, there were people who were to become leading scientists, literary figures and artists, such as Guo Moruo, Li Siguang, Qian Xuesen, Xian Xinghai and Xu Beihong. Their spirit of ambition, their struggles and their breadth of vision were an inspiration not only to the Chinese people but to people all over the world.

Indeed, it is true that if the Chinese people had not learned many



things from the surrounding countries they would never have been able to produce the splendid achievements of former days. When we look back upon history, how can we not feel profoundly grateful for the legacies of the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Greece and India? How can we not feel fondness and respect for the cultures of Europe, Africa, America and Oceania?

The Chinese nation, in turn, has made unique contributions to the community of mankind. Prior to the 15th century, China led the world in science and technology. The British scientist Joseph Needham once said, "From the third century A.D. to the 13th century A.D. China was far ahead of the West in the level of its scientific knowledge." Paul Kennedy, of Yale University in the U.S., author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, said, "Of all the civilizations of the pre-modern period, none was as well-developed or as progressive as that of China."

Foreigners who came to China were often astonished at what they saw and heard. The Greek geographer Pausanias in the second century A.D. gave the first account in the West of the technique of silk production in China: "The Chinese feed a spider-like insect with millet and reeds. After five years the insect's stomach splits open, and silk is extracted therefrom." From this extract, we can see that the Europeans at that time did not know the art of silk manufacture. In the middle of the 9th century A.D., an Arabian writer includes the following anecdote in his *Account of China and India*:

"One day, an Arabian merchant called upon the military governor of Guangzhou. Throughout the meeting, the visitor could not keep his eyes off the governor's chest. Noticing this, the latter asked the Arab merchant what he was staring at. The merchant replied, 'Through the silk robe you are wearing, I can faintly see a black mole on your chest. Your robe must be made out of very fine silk indeed!' The governor burst out laughing, and holding out his sleeve invited the merchant to count how many garments he was wearing. The merchant did so, and discovered that the governor was actually wearing five silk robes, one on top of the other, and they were made of such fine material that a tiny mole could be seen through them all! Moreover, the governor explained that the robes he was wearing were not made of the finest silk at all; silk of the highest



grade was reserved for the garments worn by the provincial governor.”

The references to tea in this book (the author calls it “dried grass”) reveal that the custom of drinking tea was unknown in the Arab countries at that time: “The king of China’s revenue comes mainly from taxes on salt and the dry leaves of a kind of grass which is drunk after boiled water is poured on it. This dried grass is sold at a high price in every city in the country. The Chinese call it ‘cha.’ The bush is like alfalfa, except that it bears more leaves, which are also more fragrant than alfalfa. It has a slightly bitter taste, and when it is infused in boiling water it is said to have medicinal properties.”

Foreign visitors showed especial admiration for Chinese medicine. One wrote, “China has very good medical conditions. Poor people are given money to buy medicines by the government.”

In this period, when Chinese culture was in full bloom, scholars flocked from all over the world to China for sightseeing and for study. Chang’an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty was host to visitors from as far away as the Byzantine Empire, not to mention the neighboring countries of Asia. Chang’an, at that time the world’s greatest metropolis, was packed with thousands of foreign dignitaries, students, diplomats, merchants, artisans and entertainers. Japan especially sent contingent after contingent of envoys to the Tang court. Worthy of note are the accounts of life in Chang’an written by Abeno Nakamaro, a Japanese scholar who studied in China and had close friendships with ministers of the Tang court and many Chinese scholars in a period of over 50 years. The description throws light on the exchanges between Chinese and foreigners in this period. When Abeno was supposedly lost at sea on his way back home, the leading poet of the time, Li Bai, wrote a eulogy for him.

The following centuries saw a steady increase in the accounts of China written by Western visitors. The Italian Marco Polo described conditions in China during the Yuan Dynasty in his *Travels*. However, until advances in the science of navigation led to the opening of east-west shipping routes at the beginning of the 16th century Sino-Western cultural exchanges were coloured by fantasy and conjecture. Concrete progress was made when a contingent of religious missionaries, men well versed in Western science and technology, made their way to China, ushering in an era of



direct contacts between China and the West. The experience of this era was embodied in the career of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci. Arriving in China in 1582, Ricci died in Beijing in 1610. Apart from his missionary work, Ricci accomplished two historically symbolic tasks — one was the translation into Latin of the “Four Books,” together with annotations, in 1594; the other was the translation into Chinese of Euclid’s *Elements*.

The rough translations of the “Four Books” and other Chinese classical works by Western missionaries, and the publication of Père du Halde’s *Description Geographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l’Empire de la Chine* revealed an exotic culture to Western readers, and sparked a “China fever,” during which the eyes of many Western intellectuals were fixed on China. Some of these intellectuals, including Leibniz, held China in high esteem; others, such as Hegel, nursed a critical attitude toward Chinese culture. Leibniz considered that some aspects of Chinese thought were close to his own views, such as the philosophy of the *Book of Changes* and his own binary system. Hegel, on the other hand, as mentioned above, considered that China had developed no proper philosophy of its own. Nevertheless, no matter whether the reaction was one of admiration, criticism, acceptance or rejection, Sino-Western exchanges were of great significance. The transmission of advanced Chinese science and technology to the West, especially the Chinese inventions of paper-making, gunpowder, printing and the compass, greatly changed the face of the whole world. Karl Marx said, “Chinese gunpowder blew the feudal class of knights to smithereens; the compass opened up world markets and built colonies; and printing became an implement of Protestantism and the most powerful lever and necessary precondition for intellectual development and creation.” The English philosopher Roger Bacon said that China’s four great inventions had “changed the face of the whole world and the state of affairs of everything.”

3

Ancient China gave birth to a large number of eminent scientists, such as Zu Chongzhi, Li Shizhen, Sun Simiao, Zhang Heng, Shen Kuo and Bi Sheng. They produced numerous treatises on scientific subjects, includ-



ing *The Manual of Important Arts for the People's Welfare*, *Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art*, *A Treatise on Febrile Diseases* and *Compendium of Materia Medica*. Their accomplishments included ones whose influence has been felt right down to modern times, such as the armillary sphere, seismograph, Dujiangyan water conservancy project, Dunhuang Grottoes, Grand Canal and Great Wall. But from the latter part of the 15th century, and for the next 400 years, Europe gradually became the cultural centre upon which the world's eyes were fixed. The world's most outstanding scientists then were England's Isaac Newton, Poland's Copernicus, France's Marie Curie, Germany's Rontgen and Einstein, Italy's Galileo, Russia's Mendelev and America's Edison.

The Chinese people then began to think: What is the cause of the rise and fall of nations? Moreover, how did it happen that gunpowder, invented in China and transmitted to the West, in no time at all made Europe powerful enough to batter down the gates of China herself?

It took the Opium War to wake China from its reverie. The first generation to make the bold step of "turning our eyes once again to the rest of the world" was represented by Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang started the Westernization Movement, and later intellectuals raised the slogan of "Democracy and Science." Noble-minded patriots, realizing that China had fallen behind in the race for modernization, set out on a painful quest. But in backwardness lay the motivation for change, and the quest produced the embryo of a towering hope, and the Chinese people finally gathered under a banner proclaiming a "March Toward Science."

On the threshold of the 21st century, the world is moving in the direction of becoming an integrated entity. This trend is becoming clearer by the day. In fact, the history of the various peoples of the world is also becoming the history of mankind as a whole. Today, it is impossible for any nation's culture to develop without absorbing the excellent aspects of the cultures of other peoples. When Western culture absorbs aspects of Chinese culture, this is not just because it has come into contact with Chinese culture, but also because of the active creativity and development of Western culture itself; and vice versa. The various cultures of the world's peoples are a precious heritage which we all share. Mankind



no longer lives on different continents, but on one big continent, or in a “global village.” And so, in this era characterized by an all-encompassing network of knowledge and information we should learn from each other and march in step along the highway of development to construct a brand-new “global village.”

Western learning is still being transmitted to the East, and vice versa. China is accelerating its pace of absorption of the best parts of the cultures of other countries, and there is no doubt that both the West and the East need the nourishment of Chinese culture. Based on this recognition, we have edited and published the *Library of Chinese Classics* in a Chinese-English format as an introduction to the corpus of traditional Chinese culture in a comprehensive and systematic translation. Through this collection, our aim is to reveal to the world the aspirations and dreams of the Chinese people over the past 5,000 years and the splendour of the new historical era in China. Like a phoenix rising from the ashes, the Chinese people in unison are welcoming the cultural sunrise of the new century.



序 言

历史上，“诗、书、礼、易、春秋、乐”中开始只称《书》。到汉代才将“书”尊称为《尚书》，“尚，上也，言久远也”，被尊奉为儒家“六经”中最重要的一经，其间出现了今文、古文不同本子。由此，它和《左传》《周礼》一起引起了学术史上长期的今古文之争。到晋代又出现了伪古文《尚书》，纠葛更多。其所记载的历史，上起传说中的尧舜禹时代，下至东周春秋中期的历史约 1500 多年。作为我国最早的一部历史文献汇编，《尚书》涉及先秦时代的政治、军事、天文、地理、哲学思想、教育、刑法和典章制度等等，保存了我国古代丰富的人文科学和自然科学的各种重要资料，对于研究我国上古史而言是不可替代的。

目前《尚书》通行本共五十八篇，包括《虞夏书》《商书》《周书》三部分。《虞夏书》九篇，包括唐尧、虞舜、夏禹、皋陶和益稷时代的史事和有关夏朝的史事；《商书》十七篇，记载了有关商朝的史事；《周书》三十二篇，记载有关周朝的史事。《尚书》按文体可分为诰、训、谟、誓、命、典六种。“诰”，“告也”，有晓喻的意思。凡以言语、文字告人，具有告诫、慰勉之意的，便称为“诰”。为晓喻民众、祭告宗庙神祇、劝告君王、君戒臣属、同官相诰之意，如《大诰》就是平定管蔡、武庚之乱时周公告诫属下的话。“训”指的是说教、训诫的言辞。大凡贤臣告诫君主的言辞，便称为“训”，类似于现代的建议书、倡议书，如《伊训》《太甲》等便是此类篇章。“谟”，就是谋议、计划之意。君臣一起谋划事情，君有“典”，臣有“谟”，有施政方案，如《皋陶谟》就是大禹、皋陶、伯益向虞舜陈述的嘉言。“誓”是君主誓众之词，多为军事行动的誓词，用于告诫将士或约束敌人，类似于现代的条约，如《甘誓》《汤誓》等篇均为



此类篇什。“命”即命令，是国君对臣下颁布的命令，类似于现代的下发公文，如《顾命》就是成王将崩，有所托付之遗“命”。“典”，就是常法、常典之意，记载了重要史事经过或某项专题史实，如《尧典》《舜典》就记载了唐尧、虞舜的嘉言善政。除此之外，还有以人名标题的，如《盘庚》《微子》；以事标题的，如《高宗彤日》《西伯戡黎》；以内容标题的，如《禹贡》《洪范》《无逸》等。

《尚书》所体现的政治思想、所蕴藏的哲学观念、所保存的历史信息等等，对中华民族历史文化的发展与思想人格的形成产生了至深至远的影响，有关《尚书》的诸多问题，激发了历代学者生生不息的研究志趣。本文拟谈四个相关的问题，一是《尚书》的今古文问题，二是伪古文问题及其考辨史，三是《尚书》的海外传播问题，四是理雅各的英译《尚书》。

一《尚书》的今古文问题

围绕《尚书》的首要问题就是辨识《尚书》今古文的问题。今文《尚书》据说传自伏生，凡二十八篇（如将《康王之诰》从《顾命》中析出则为二十九篇），在西汉传授不绝。这些经文都是用秦朝至汉代通行的隶书写就，被称为“今文”，意为汉代当今通行的文体，由欧阳生、大夏侯（夏侯胜）和小夏侯（夏侯建）传授下来。而《尚书》出现之后，又发现了几部先秦时用古籀文字写就的经籍，被称为古文。

武帝末年，孔安国（约公元前149—公元前90）得到古文《尚书》，该《尚书》出现于西汉而盛行于东汉。于西汉中期起，文献中先后记载了五次古文《尚书》。《汉书·艺文志》记载：“古文尚书出孔子壁中。武帝末，鲁恭王坏孔子宅，欲以广其宫，而得古文尚书……孔安国者，孔子后也，悉得其书，以考二十九篇，得多十六篇。安国献之，遭巫蛊事，未列于学官。”为方便读者阅读，特将今、古文《尚书》及伪古文《尚书》篇目列表如下：



伪古文《尚书》 (据十三经注疏本)	今文《尚书》	古文《尚书》(据孔颖达 正义引郑注书序)多出 今文《尚书》十六篇
尚书序		
一、虞夏书		
1 尧典	1 尧典	
2 舜典(自尧典分出)		1 舜典 2 汨作 3 九共
3 大禹谟(伪)		4 大禹谟
4 皋陶谟	2 皋陶谟	
5 益稷谟(由皋陶谟分)		5 益稷
6 禹贡	3 禹贡	
7 甘誓	4 甘誓	
8 五子之歌(伪)		6 五子之歌
9 胤征(伪)		7 胤征
二、商书		
10 汤誓	5 汤誓	
11 仲虺之诰(伪)		
12 汤诰(伪)		8 汤诰
13 伊训(伪)		11 伊训 12 肆命 13 原命
14 太甲上(伪)		
15 太甲中(伪)		
16 太甲下(伪)		
17 咸有一德(伪)		9 咸有一德 10 典宝
18 盘庚上	6 盘庚	



伪古文《尚书》 (据十三经注疏本)	今文《尚书》	古文《尚书》(据孔颖达 正义引郑注书序)多出 今文《尚书》十六篇
19 盘庚中		
20 盘庚下		
21 说命上(伪)		
22 说命中(伪)		
23 说命下(伪)		
24 高宗彤日	7 高宗彤日	
25 西伯戡黎	8 西伯戡黎	
26 微子	9 微子	
27 泰誓上(伪)		
28 泰誓中(伪)		
29 泰誓下(伪)		
三、周书		
30 牧誓	10 牧誓	
31 武成(伪)		14 武成
32 洪范	11 洪范	
33 旅獒(伪)		15 旅獒
34 金縢	12 金縢	
35 大诰	13 大诰	
36 微子之命(伪)		
37 康诰	14 康诰	
38 酒诰	15 酒诰	



伪古文《尚书》 (据十三经注疏本)	今文《尚书》	古文《尚书》(据孔颖达 正义引郑注书序)多出 今文《尚书》十六篇
39 梓材	16 梓材	
40 召诰	17 召诰	
41 洛诰	18 洛诰	
42 多士	19 多士	
43 无逸	20 无逸	
44 君奭	21 君奭	
45 蔡仲之命(伪)		
46 多方	22 多方	
47 立政	23 立政	
48 周官(伪)		
49 君陈(伪)		
50 顾命	24 顾命	
51 康王之诰	25 康王之诰	
52 毕命(伪)		
53 君牙(伪)		
54 冏命(伪)		16 冏命
55 吕刑	27 吕刑	
56 文侯之命	28 文侯之命	
57 费誓	26 费誓	
58 秦誓	29 秦誓	



上表中的《书》十六篇得于孔壁中的说法，最初见于西汉末刘向、刘歆父子的记录。不过近世学者对此大多表示怀疑，并且孔安国的生平亦不及于武帝末年巫蛊事发时（公元前91年）。不过综合有关记载来看，学术界一致认为还在武帝以前已有古文《尚书》的散篇或文本传出。

东汉古文《尚书》学的复兴始于杜林。《后汉书·儒林传》说：“扶风杜林传古文《尚书》，林同郡贾逵为之作训，马融作传，郑玄注解，由是古文《尚书》遂显于世。”这一系统的学术是东汉古文《尚书》学的主干，不过却仍然以孔安国之学为宗，其传承关系上的关键人物是孔安国的再传弟子胶东庸生。孔颖达认为今本《尚书·尧典》乃“孔（安国）所传者，胶东庸生、刘歆、贾逵、马融等所传是也”。郑玄可以说是东汉最后一位综合今古文经学的大师，曾授业于马融。郑玄的注释本是汉代古文《尚书》的最终成果。实存篇数，孔颖达认为是58篇，包括今文34篇和古文24篇。今文34篇，即伏生本的29篇加《泰誓》篇，因伏生本原有的《盘庚》篇和后来加入的《泰誓》篇各分为上中下3篇，所以实际篇数增至34篇。

二、伪古文《尚书》及其考辨史

《尚书》的另一问题是《尚书》的伪古文问题。伪古文《尚书》是东晋元帝时豫章内史梅赜所奏上孔安国所传的古文《尚书》。唐初孔颖达作《五经正义》，其中，《尚书正义》采用此本，从而就成为正经正本。

梅赜所献之孔传本古文《尚书》共五十八篇，比伏生所传今文《尚书》多二十五篇。其中伏生所传的二十八篇，被梅赜析成三十三篇。孔颖达的《尚书正义》说：“以伏生二十八篇《盘庚》出二篇，加《舜典》《益稷》《康王之诰》，凡五篇，为三十三篇，加所增二十五篇，为五十八，加《序》一篇，为五十九。”孔氏所述前五篇，今文《尚书》中也有。郑玄的《尚书注》已经从《盘庚》析出二篇，从《顾命》中析出《康王之诰》；而梅赜则将《舜典》自《尧典》析



出,《益稷》自《皋陶谟》析出。与旧传的今古文本均不同的是梅賾新增了二十五篇(见上表)。新增的二十五篇中有《泰誓》,与旧传《泰誓》不同。郑玄的注本中《泰誓》只有一篇,而梅賾则从中析出三篇。自伏生开始,《书序》都是单出一卷,而梅賾则将《书序》分散,移到每一篇的篇首。

从北宋开始,一些学者开始怀疑梅賾所献古文《尚书》的真实性,宋代的吴棫首先发疑,后来朱熹也怀疑这是伪作而且对其进行了考辨。明代的梅鹗在《尚书考异》和《尚书谱》中对《书序》、古文《尚书》及孔传从不同角度进行了翔实而科学的考辨,他不仅考辨了《尚书》的传授系统,还从文章体例、句法特点、文字风格以及史实上具体揭示这本古文《尚书》是伪作。不过,因为搜采的资料不完备,所以梅鹗推论出的结果比较粗疏。直到清初阎若璩的《尚书古文疏证》问世,才真正引起重大影响。阎氏以毕生精力写成此书,共得专论128篇,又在每一论之下用按语的形式详细地注疏了自己的论证,共八卷,从而谳定今本《尚书》的古文二十五篇为魏晋间所出的伪书,而不是汉代流传的“真古文”。

自梁启超起,近代学者的疑古思想越来越重,反映在《尚书》上就是直接对《尚书》某些重要篇章如《禹贡》等成书问题提出质疑。梁启超认为《禹贡》是东周时的地理书,钱玄同则指出《禹贡》是晚周人的伪造,王国维认为《禹贡》系后世重编,至少也是周初时候的人所写,而顾颉刚、马衡、翁文灏、郭沫若等大部分都认为《禹贡》是春秋战国甚或汉代之作,张西堂则推断《禹贡》作于战国末年,不过陈梦家则判定《禹贡》不会早于战国时期。综上所述,我们可以看到大家对《尚书》的成书年代意见纷纭,莫衷一是。

三、《尚书》的海外传播

对于西儒而言,最早研究《五经》的是利玛窦。他在《天主实义》多次提到中国思想家的著作,如《孟子》《论语》《左传》《中庸》《大学》《老子》《庄子》等,其中共18次引用《尚书》。但他没



有翻译过《五经》。首次将《五经》译为拉丁语的是法国耶稣会会士金尼阁（Nicolas Trigaut, 1577—1628），他在1626年（明天启六年）在杭州刊印了拉丁文《中国五经》（*Pentabiblion Sinense*）一册，并附有注解，题名为《中国第一部神圣之书》，成为最早在中国本土刊印的中国经籍翻译本。《尚书》于1626年译成拉丁文后，相继出现法文、英文和德文译本在西方国家流传。

1735年（清雍正十三年）法国传教士巴多明（Dominique Parrenin, 1665—1741）翻译六经并加注释。宋君荣（Antoine Gaubil, 1689—1759）、刘应（Claude de Visdelou, 字声闻）和马若瑟（Joseph Henry-Marie de Prémare, 1666—1736）等翻译并注释了中国古代经典《书经》（*Le Chou King, un des livres sacrés des Chinois*），由德经（M. de Guignes）编辑后于1770年在巴黎出版。此书除了译文和注释外，还有出版者添加的补注、插图和原文所没有的中国上古三朝的帝王简史。他采用的底本是康熙年间出版的孔安国古文《尚书》的满文译本。他在翻译《书经》时，专门对书中涉及的上古天文学内容进行研究，写成一篇文章《〈书经〉中的天文学》（*Astronomie dans le Chou-king*）附录在译著中。

马若瑟选译的《书经》、《诗经》曾被杜赫德（Jean Baptiste du Halde）收入法文版《中华帝国志》第二册298页至308页。《中华帝国志》是奠定法国汉学的三大名著之一，1741年、1749年和1774年分别由英、德、俄三国翻译出版，英译本有两种，1736年12月出版了节译本，1741年出版全译本，在欧洲的影响非常大。

英国传教士麦都思（Walter Henry Medhurst, 1796—1857）也曾译出《尚书》，书名为 *Ancient China, the Shoo-king, or, The Historical Classic; Being the Most Ancient Authentic Record of the Annals of the Chinese Empire*（《古代的中国，书经，或历史经典》），1846年出版于上海墨海书馆（Mission Press）。

《尚书》最普遍使用的英译本有理雅各（1815—1897）和高本汉（1889—1978）的译本。高氏仅翻译了归在伏生名下的今文《尚书》



28 篇，其译文一般被认为是更准确地翻译了这些经文的古代语言。

在研究中国古籍方面，高本汉做得最全面而又用力最深的，是《诗经注释》（*Glosses on the Odes*）和《书经注释》（*Glosses on the Book of Documents*）。高氏的《诗经注释》分三次在瑞典《远东博物馆馆刊》（*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*）发表：1942 年第 14 期《诗国风注释》（*Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes*），1944 年第 16 期《诗小雅注释》（*Glosses on the Siao Ya Odes*）和 1946 年第 18 期《诗大雅与颂注释》（*Glosses on the Ta Ya and Song Odes*）。《书经注释》分两次刊于《远东博物馆馆刊》第 20 期（1948 年）和第 21 期（1949 年），讨论的是所谓古文经部分的 28 篇，而不是现存《伪孔传》本的全部 58 篇。高氏的著述中，和《书经》相关的还有 1933 年发表的《书经中的代名词厥字》、1950 年发表于《远东博物馆馆刊》第 22 期的《英译书经》（*The Book of Documents*）和 1964 年发表于同一刊物第 36 期的《诗经注释与书经注释索引》（*Index to Glosses on the Book of Odes and Glosses on the Book of Documents*）。高氏的《英译书经》对《书经》作了完整的逐句连缀解说，颇具学术价值。

高氏认为《书经》之所以奥衍难读，主要由于《书经》的语言时代距今太远，该问题可凭借古汉语语音系统的重建和语源学的方法来解决；他在《序》中继续说，在《诗经注释》和《书经注释》这两部书的所有注释中，其研究有一项基本原则，就是对于古代汉语语音的参证讨论。只有凭借字词古音的研究，才能解决缠结不清的“假借”问题，而一个字词的真实意义，也就可以用语源学的方法找出它所属的词类与语根，进而得到肯定的结论。

高氏深厚的语言学造诣，正好为他注释《诗经》和《书经》提供了稳固的基础。订正经文，诠释经义，清儒在这两方面都做了颇多的工作，也获得了丰硕的成果。他指出清儒的三点不足：（一）他们只求出了古音系统的初略的间架，对古音实值还毫无所知。因此，他们说某某字古音同，有些地方经常靠不住。（二）关于字义，他们过于尊崇《尔雅》《说文》等古代字书的定义，而忽略许多字在古籍中



应用的实例。(三)引证古书文句的时候,对涉及三代两汉时期的材料,往往不能根据时代的早晚加以辨别。并且,他认为他本人的语言学知识及其西方科学化的分析方法正好弥补了清儒的不足。

中国学者罗志野也英译了《尚书》,采用的是《尚书》学研究专家周秉钧的现代汉语译本。该译本于1997年在湖南出版社出版,在国内外反响不大。

《尚书》在亚洲其他国家的研究以日本为最重要,始于平安时代,我国《尚书》研究专家刘起钎曾撰专文对此进行过论述,详参刘起钎《日本早期的〈尚书〉研究》和《日本现在的〈尚书〉研究》,在此不赘。

四、理雅各英译《尚书》

理雅各的《尚书》英译文,翻译的是今文《尚书》和伪古文《尚书》,共58篇。在该译注本中,理氏既撰写了长篇导言,也加入了丰富的注释。时至今日,该译本依然具有相当高的学术价值,而无法被其他译注本完全取代。

理雅各译注《书经》乃是他克服了重重困难和融合了许多学者的研究成果之后所做出的一项重要学术成果,为中国古典文献的翻译注释开辟了不少新的途径,在西方汉学研究的历史上具有划时代的重要意义。“自行世以来即已成为西方有关中国学术的经典作品,至今不能废。”理雅各不仅以译注《中国经书》蜚声西方学术界,而且对于中国的读者而言,他所从事的工作也恰好反映了西方汉学在19世纪的一项重要成就,象征着西方学者传播中国文化的一个重要里程碑。

理氏译注《书经》(包括《竹书纪年》)之所以迄今仍受到西方学术界的重视,正是因为该译本具有其他译注本所无法取代的重要作用。如高本汉的《书经注释》(*Glosses on the Book of Documents*, 1948~1949年出版)和英文节译本(*Book of Documents*, 1950年刊行)只包括今古文皆有之篇什,对于伪古文《尚书》二十五篇,则不予收录注解。高本汉译注《尚书》虽因晚出而部分优于理氏译本,不



过高氏仅注解了部分条目，亦非全译，所以无法取代理氏的译注本。

本次重印，本社通过比较后决定采用理雅各的译本。其原因主要是因为理雅各的《尚书》英译本至今尚无人超越。理雅各之所以能够胜任《尚书》英译绝非偶然，他的特殊教育背景决定了他的翻译风格 and 特点——勇敢地面对理解上的困难，以极其严肃的学术态度对待翻译过程中所面临的问题。理雅各选定《书经传说汇纂》和《尚书正义》为基本参考书，在遇到疑难时广泛参考群书，以求得出一种较为通达的解释和译文。在这层意义上说，他的翻译早已脱离了所谓“格义”的色彩，而进入了系统译经的殿堂。另一方面，理雅各的译文和注释至今仍然切实可信、颇具参考价值，因为他把当时能解决的问题都明确翻译出来了，同时把尚待研究的疑难问题也如实记录在注释中，体现了他在考据上所具有的娴熟技能和清晰头脑。

当然，由于时代的原因，理雅各的《尚书》译本无疑也有自身的问题，归结起来主要有如下两点，（1）因误解经文或旧注而产生的问题，（2）因接受中国传统注释中的错误而重复其误解。当遇到这些问题时，我们采取的办法有两种，一是参考国内外现有的《尚书》英译本，包括高本汉和罗志野的译文；二是根据注释和理解对理雅各的译文进行必要的修订并注释说明。希望这样能使不必要的误解和误译减少到最低限度。

需要说明的是，《尚书》中的“江”、“河”均特指长江和黄河，所以不再按理雅各音译的“Jiang”“He”表示，而直接采用“Changjiang River”和“Huanghe River”。本序参引了许多学界前辈时贤的研究成果，限于篇幅，无法在此一一例举，特此致歉。

李伟荣

2012. 10. 17 于湖南大学

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Introduction

Originally, the *Six Classics* (《六经》) of Confucius were briefly called *Shi* (*Book of Poetry*), *Shu* (*Book of Documents*), *Li* (*Book of Rites*), *Yi* (*Book of Changes*), *Chunqiu* (*Annals of the Spring and Autumn Period*) and *Yue* (*Book of Music*). However, in the Han Dynasty, *Shu* was considered to be the most important one of the Six Classics and got the name of *The Shangshu* (《尚书》), that is, history of ancient generations. Like the two Chinese books *Zuo Zhuan* (*Commentary to Annals of the Spring and Autumn Period*) and *Rites of Zhou* (one of three ancient ritual texts listed among the *Confucian Canons*), the book also caused a long-term dispute in the academic field over the two versions of New Text and Old Text. This dispute was even more severe when another version of the Old Text was allegedly rediscovered by the scholar Mei Ze (梅賾) during the 4th century, and presented to the imperial court of the Eastern Jin Dynasty. The book is arranged in chronological order that extends 1,500 years from the legendary emperors Yao, Shun and Yu to the Eastern Zhou and the middle of the Spring and Autumn Period. As the earliest collection of the history, it covered a wide range of subjects such as politics, military, astronomy, geography, philosophy, education, criminal law, ancient laws and regulations and some others of the Pre-Qin times, and preserved various valuable materials on humanities and natural sciences. Thus it is of great importance to the research of ancient Chinese history.

The current edition of the book consists of 58 chapters altogether, including three parts of *Books of Yü and Xia*, *Books of Shang* and *Books of Zhou*. The nine chapters of *Books of Yü and Xia* are about the historical



events about emperors Yao, Shun, Yu, Gao-yao and Yiji, each of whom was one of the "Twelve Saints" in ancient legends. The historical events of the Xia Dynasty are also included. The following 17 and 32 chapters are respectively devoted to the Shang and Zhou dynasties. Those chapters can be divided into six types of speeches: gao(诰), xun(训), mo(谟), shi(誓), ming(命) and dian(典). "Gao" means the words or speeches containing warnings, comforts or encouragements, which might be instructions from the monarch to the subjects, or to the people, or the advice between subjects. For example, "The Great Announcement" is a collection of Zhougong's (or Duke Zhou's) instructions to his subordinates when quelling the Guancai-Wugeng Rebellion. "Xun" refers to the speeches of sermonizing and admonishing. All the advice from the subjects to the monarch is called "xun", similar to the modern proposals or recommendations, "The Instructions of Yi" and "The Taijia" are examples. "Mo" means consultations between the subjects on state affairs, and the subjects reach the governance program under the monarch's canon. "The Counsels of Gao-yao" is the good words that emperors Yu, Gao-yao and Bo-yi advised to emperor Shun. "Shi" means the King's declarations mostly for the military actions, which is used to warn the soldiers or to pin down the enemy, somewhat similar to modern treaties. "The Speech at Gan" and "The Speech of Tang" are of this category. "Ming" is commands issued by the monarch to the subjects, similar to today's official documents. "The Testamentary Charge" is Emperor Cheng's will made on his deathbed. "Dian" means canons of important historical records or a specific historical event. For example, "The Canon of Emperor Yao" and "The Canon of Emperor Shun" record emperors Yao and Shun's good words and governance. Besides, there are also some chapters named after a person, like "King Pan-geng" and "The Count of Wei". "The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice to Gao Zong" and "The Chief of the West's Conquest of Li" are named after the events, while "The Tribute of Yu",



“The Great Plan and Wu Yi” are named after the contents.

The political thoughts, philosophical ideas, historical records and other information in the book have a far-reaching impact on the development of Chinese history and culture as well as on the formation of thought and personality. Many problems over the book have inspired successive scholars throughout centuries to make a life-long research into it. This essay is divided into four parts: the first part deals with the problems of the New and Old Text Versions, the second discusses the problems of the rediscovered Old Text Version and its verifying history, the third is about the spreading of the book overseas, and the last evaluates in brief its English translation by James Legge.

I. Problems Concerning the Old Text and New Text Versions

The first problem about the book is the two versions of the Old Text and New Text. It was said that the 28-chapter (if we take the chapter “The Announcement to the Prince of Kang” out of “The Testamentary Charge”, then the New Text will come in 29 chapters altogether) New Text was passed from Fu Sheng (伏生), and was served as a textbook in the Western Han Dynasty. And all those chapters were written in the lishu (隶书, official script), an ancient style of calligraphy current from the Qin Dynasty to the Han Dynasty. After the appearance of the book, several classical works written in another style of paleography (古籀文) in the Pre-Qin times were discovered, so they were called ancient Chinese prose (古文, Elegant Writing), while those written in official script were called current prose (今文, Current Writing), meaning the style popular in the current Han Dynasty. The books used at that time were passed down by Ouyang Sheng (欧阳生), Xiahou Sheng (夏侯胜) and Xiahou Jian (夏侯建).

In the late years of Emperor Wu (an emperor in the Western Han Dynasty), Kong Anguo (B. C. E. 149—90, 孔安国) got the Old Text, which



appeared in the Western Han Dynasty but was popular in the Eastern Han Dynasty. Since the mid-Western Han Dynasty, the Old Text had been recorded five times in the documents. The chapter *History of Literature* (《艺文志》) in *Hanshu* (or *The Book of the Earlier Han*《汉书》) records: "The Old Text was originally engraved of the walls of Confucius' house. However, in the late years of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty (汉武帝), it was discovered when King Gong of the State of Lu (鲁恭王) destroyed Confucius' house to rebuild his palace. Kong Anguo, a male offspring of Confucius, found that this book contained 16 chapters more than the current 29-chapter one. So he submitted this new version to the government, but due to the witchcraft it wasn't taken as an official textbook." The following table is a list of the three texts of the book for your reading.

Rediscovered Old Text (According to <i>The Annotated Edition of the Thirteen Classics</i>)	New Text	Old Text, 16 chapters more than the New Text (According to Kong Yingda's annotated edition)
Preface to <i>The Shangshu</i>		
I <i>Books of Yü and Xia</i>		
1 The Canon of Emperor Yao	1 The Canon of Emperor Yao	
2 The Canon of Emperor Shun (originally a section under The Canon of Emperor Yao)		1 The Canon of Emperor Shun 2 Mi Zuo 3 Jiu Gong
3 The Counsels of the Great Yü (Rediscovered)		4 The Counsels of the Great Yü
4 The Counsels of Gao-yao	2 The Counsels of Gao-yao	



Rediscovered Old Text (According to <i>The Annotated Edition of the Thirteen Classics</i>)	New Text	Old Text, 16 chapters more than the New Text (According to Kong Yingda's annotated edition)
5 The Yi and Ji (originally a section under Gao-yao)		5 The Yi and Ji
6 The Tribute of Yü	3 The Tribute of Yü	
7 The Speech at Gan	4 The Speech at Gan	
8 The Songs of the Five Sons (Rediscovered)		6 The Songs of the Five Sons
9 The Punitive Expedition of Yin (Rediscovered)		7 The Punitive Expedition of Yin
II Books of Shang		
10 The Speech of Tang	5 The Speech of Tang	
11 The Announcement of Zhonghui (Rediscovered)		
12 The Announcement of Tang (Rediscovered)		8 The Announcement of Tang
13 The Instructions of Yi (Rediscovered)		11 The Instructions of Yi 12 Si Ming 13 Yuan Ming
14 The Tai Jia (I) (Rediscovered)		
15 The Tai Jia (II) (Rediscovered)		
16 The Tai Jia (III) (Rediscovered)		



Rediscovered Old Text (According to <i>The Annotated Edition of the Thirteen Classics</i>)	New Text	Old Text, 16 chapters more than the New Text (According to Kong Yingda's annotated edition)
17 The Common Possession of Pure Virtue (Rediscovered)		9 The Common Possession of Pure Virtue 10 Dian Bao
18 Pan Geng(I)	6 Pan Geng	
19 Pan Geng(II)		
20 Pan Geng(III)		
21 The Charge to Yue (I) (Rediscovered)		
22 The Charge to Yue (II) (Rediscovered)		
23 The Charge to Yue (III) (Rediscovered)		
24 The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice to Gao Zong	7 The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice to Gao Zong	
25 The Chief of the West's Conquest of Li	8 The Chief of the West's Conquest of Li	
26 The Count of Wei	9 The Count of Wei	
27 The Great Declaration (I)		



Rediscovered Old Text (According to <i>The Annotated Edition of the Thirteen Classics</i>)	New Text	Old Text, 16 chapters more than the New Text (According to Kong Yingda's annotated edition)
28 The Great Declaration (II)		
29 The Great Declaration (III)		
III Books of Zhou		
30 The Speech at Mu	10 The Speech at Mu	
31 The Successful Completion of the War (Rediscovered)		14 The Successful Completion of the War
32 The Great Plan	11 The Great Plan	
33 The Hounds of Lü (Rediscovered)		15 The Hounds of Lü (Rediscovered)
34 The Metal-bound Coffer	12 The Metal-bound Coffer	
35 The Great Announcement	13 The Great Announcement	
36 The Charge to the Count of Wei (Rediscovered)		
37 The Announcement to the Prince of Kang	14 The Announcement to the Prince of Kang	



Rediscovered Old Text (According to <i>The Annotated Edition of the Thirteen Classics</i>)	New Text	Old Text, 16 chapters more than the New Text (According to Kong Yingda's annotated edition)
38 The Announcement about Drunkenness	15 The Announcement about Drunkenness	
39 The Timber of the Rottlera	16 The Timber of the Rottlera	
40 The Announcement of the Duke of Shao	17 The Announcement of the Duke of Shao	
41 The Announcement Concerning Luo	18 The Announcement Concerning Luo	
42 The Numerous Officers	19 The Numerous Officers	
43 Against Luxurious Ease	20 Against Luxurious Ease	
44 The Prince Shi	21 The Prince Shi	
45 The Charge to Zhong of Cai		
46 The Numerous Regions	22 The Numerous Regions	
47 The Establishment of Government	23 The Establishment of Government	
48 The Officers of Zhou (Rediscovered)		



Rediscovered Old Text (According to <i>The Annotated Edition of the Thirteen Classics</i>)	New Text	Old Text, 16 chapters more than the New Text (According to Kong Yingda's annotated edition)
49 The Jun-chen (Rediscovered)		
50 The Testamentary Charge	24 The Testamentary Charge	
51 The Announcement of King Kang	25 The Announcement of King Kang	
52 The Charge to the Duke of Bi (Rediscovered)		
53 The Jun-ya (Rediscovered)		
54 The Charge to Jiong (Rediscovered)		16 The Charge to Jiong
55 The Marquis of Lü on Punishments	27 The Marquis of Lü on Punishments	
56 The Charge to the Marquis Wen	28 The Charge to the Marquis Wen	
57 The Speech at Bi	26 The Speech at Bi	
58 The Speech of the Marquis of Qin	29 The Speech of the Marquis of Qin	

It was first recorded by Liu Xiang(刘向) and his son Liu Xin(刘歆) that the 16 chapters were from the house of Confucius. However, most



modern scholars doubted it, and in the year of 91 B. C. E. when the witchcraft happened, Kong Anguo was dead. Nevertheless, by the general analysis of the related records, the academic circles held that several chapters or texts of the Old Text had appeared before the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty.

The revival of the research into the Old Text of the Eastern Han Dynasty started from Du Lin(杜林). It is recorded in the “Biographies of Confucian Scholars”(《儒林传》) of *The Book of the Later Han*(《后汉书》): “Du Lin in Fufeng city(扶风) passed on the Old Text, Jia Kui(贾逵) in Lintong prefecture(林同郡) wrote the instructions and exegetical notes, Ma Rong(马融) made the commentaries, and Zheng Xuan(郑玄) made the annotations. From then on the Old Text started to spread.” This systematic academic study was the main part of the Old Text in the Later Han Dynasty. But the most authentic research into *The Shangshu* was done by Kong Anguo, and the key person in passing it down was his follower Yong Sheng(庸生) in Jiaodong(胶东). According to Kong Yingda(孔颖达), the New Text of “The Canon of Emperor Yao” in *The Shangshu* was edited by Kong Anguo, and passed down by Yong Sheng, Liu Xin, Jia Kui, Ma Rong and others. Zheng Xuan, who once was the teacher of Ma Rong, could be viewed as the last master in integrating both the Old Text and the New Text in the Later Han Dynasty, and his annotated edition was the final edition for the Old Text of the Han Dynasty. Kong Yingda held that the book altogether had 58 chapters, including 34 chapters of the New Text and 24 chapters of the Old Text. The 34-chapter New Text was composed of Fu Sheng’s 29-chapter edition and the chapter “The Great Speech”, since the original chapter “Pan-geng” and the new addition of the chapter “The Great Declaration” had three parts respectively. Therefore, the New Text altogether included 34 chapters.



II . Problems of the Rediscovered Old Text Version and Its Verifying History

The second problem of the book was the existence of the rediscovered version of the Old Text Version edited by Kong Yingda. It was presented to the imperial court of the Eastern Jin Dynasty by Mei Ze, a local governor in Henan province. In the early Tang Dynasty, Kong Yingda composed the *Orthodox Expositions of the Five Confucian Classics* (《五经正义》), while the *Orthodox Exposition of The Shangshu* (《尚书正义》) was based on the rediscovered edition, and thus became the official edition.

The Old Text presented by Mei Ze had altogether 58 chapters, 25 chapters more than the New Text edited by Fu Sheng. And Fu Sheng's 28 chapters were expanded to 33 chapters in Mei Ze's edition. Kong Yingda said in his *Orthodox Exposition of The Shangshu*; "The 58 chapters include Fu Sheng's 28 chapters plus two chapters from "King Pan-geng" and other three chapters of "The Canon of Emperor Shun, The Yi and Ji," and "The Announcement of King Kang", and if we count the preface as a chapter, together with the added 28 chapters, then the Old Text altogether has 59 chapters." The first five chapters mentioned by Kong Yingda also were included in the New Text. In his *Annotation to The Shangshu* (《尚书注》), Zheng Xuan split "Pan-geng" into two parts and took "The Announcement of King Kang" as an independent chapter which was originally a section under "The Testamentary Charge". Mei Ze took "The Canon of Emperor Shun" as an independent chapter which was originally a section under "The Canon of Emperor Yao", and "The Yi and Ji" from "The Counsels of Gao-yao". Different from both the New and Old Texts that spread before, Mei Ze's edition was added 25 chapters (see the above table). And the newly added chapter "The Great Declaration" was different from the old one, for in Zheng Xuan's *Annotation to The Shangshu*, there was only one chapter of "The Great Declaration", but three chapters in Mei Ze's edition. Ever since Fu Sheng, the *Preface to The Shangshu* became a single volume, but Mei Ze



distributed each of it to the beginning of each chapter.

The doubt on the authenticity of Mei Ze's edition by some scholars could be traced back to the Northern Song Dynasty, which was made firstly by Wu Yu(吴棫) and then Zhu Xi(朱熹). In the Ming Dynasty, Mei Zhuo(梅鹭) made a full, accurate and scientific study of the *Preface* and the Old Text of *The Shangshu* from different points in his books of *The Shangshu Kaoyi*(《尚书考异》) and *The Shangshu Pu*(《尚书谱》). In these two books, he not only researched into the teaching and spreading system of the book, but proved it a false edition from different perspectives: stylistic rules and layouts of the text, syntax features, diction style and historical facts. However, his conclusion was a rough one due to the lack of collected materials. It did not arouse significant influence until Yan Ruoku(阎若璩) had published his *Shang Shu Guwen Shuzheng* (or *Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Old Text of The Shangshu*《尚书古文疏证》). He spent his whole life to finish this book, thus got 128 monographs and made 8 volumes of detailed comments on each of his monographs in the form of explanatory notes. Therefore, the 25 chapters of the Old Text were false which were written between the dynasties of the Wei and Jin, not the New Text that spread in the Han Dynasty.

Ever since Liang Qichao(梁启超), modern scholars who doubted the authenticity of the book had kept increasing. The doubts centered upon the problems about the formation of such important chapters as "The Tribute of Emperor Yu." Liang Qichao held that The "Tribute of Emperor Yu" was a geography book published in the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. Qian Xuanton(钱玄同) pointed out it was a forged one made in late Zhou Dynasty. Wang Guowei(王国维) believed that it was a re-edition made by the unknown scholars of the later generations, at least in early Zhou Dynasty. However, Gu Jiegang(顾颉刚), Ma Heng(马衡), Weng Wenhao(翁文灏), Guo Moruo(郭沫若) and other scholars thought it was made in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods or even in the Han Dynasty period. Zhang Xitang(张西堂) concluded it was written in the end of the Warring States Period,



and Chen Mengjia (陈梦家) believed that it could not have been written before the Warring States Period. Thus we can see that there was no consensus on the circulation of the book, and a relatively agreeable view was that it was not finished as a complete book in the Xia Dynasty.

III. The Spread of *The Shangshu* Overseas

Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit priest, was the first foreigner to study the *Five Classics* (《五经》). In his book *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (《天主实义》), he repeatedly mentioned the works of Chinese thinkers such as *The Mencius* (《孟子》), *The Analects* (《论语》), *Zuo Zhuan* (《左传》), *The Doctrine of the Mean* (《中庸》), *The Great Learning* (《大学》), *Daodejing* (《道德经》), and *Zhuangzi* (《庄子》). He had quoted the sayings in the book 18 times. But he never translated the *Five Classics*.

The first person who translated the *Five Classics* into Latin was Nicolas Trigaut (1577—1628), a French Jesuit, who printed one volume of *Pentabiblion Sinense* for publication in Hangzhou (杭州) with annotations, which became the first translation of Chinese classics to be published in China. Ever since the Latin translation of the book in 1626, the French, English and German editions followed one by one and prevailed in Europe.

In 1735, French preacher Dominique Parrenin (1665—1741) translated the *Six Classics* and gave annotations in it. Antoine Gaubil (1689—1759), Claude de Visdelou (his Chinese name is Liu Ying 刘应), Joseph Henry-Marie de Prémare (1666—1736) and some others translated and annotated the Chinese ancient classics *Le Chou King, un des livres sacrés des Chinois* (《书经》), and published in Paris in 1770 after it was edited by M. de Guignes. Besides the translation and annotations, this edition also contained some notes added by the publisher, illustrations and a brief history of three legendary emperors in Chinese ancient times. Dominique Parrenin used the Manchu language translation of Kong Anguo's Old Text published in the reign of Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty as the original text. When translating the *Le Chou King, un des livres sacrés des Chinois*, he went



out of his way to research into the ancient astronomy referred to in this book, and wrote an article *Astronomie dans le Chou-king* as an appendix in the translation.

The selected paragraphs of *Le Chou King, un des livres sacrés des Chinois* and *Classic of Poetry* (《诗经》), which were translated by Joseph Henry-Marie de Prémare, were included in Jean Baptiste Du Halde's French book *Description de la Chine* (Book II) (《中华帝国志》) from pages 298 to 308. Jean Baptiste Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*, one of the three masterpieces of sinology, was translated into English, German and Russian and was published respectively in 1741, 1749 and 1774, with two English versions, an abridged one in 1736 and a complete one in 1741. Du Halde's *Description de la Chine* had a significant influence in Europe.

Another sinologist Walter Henry Medhurst (1796—1857), an English preacher, called himself "Mohai Laoren" (or Old Man in London Missionary Society Press 墨海老人). He translated *The Shangshu* as *Ancient China, the Shoo-king, or, The Historical Classic: Being the Most Ancient Authentic Record of the Annals of the Chinese Empire* (《古代的中国, 书经, 或历史经典》), which was published by London Missionary Society Press in Shanghai in 1846.

The most widely spread English translations of the book were finished by James Legge (1815—1897) and Bernhard Karlgren (1889—1978). Though Bernhard Karlgren only translated 28 chapters of Fu Sheng's New Text edition, it was generally considered that the ancient language in these ancient Chinese classics had been most accurately translated by him.

In regard to the study of Chinese Classics, the most comprehensive and intensive books were Bernhard Karlgren's *Glosses on the Odes* (《诗经注释》) and *Glosses on the Book of Documents* (《书经注释》). His *Glosses on the Odes* was issued in Sweden's *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (《远东博物馆馆刊》) in three parts: the first one was *Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes* (in Issue 14 in 1942), the second one was *Glosses on the Siao Ya Odes* (in Issue 16 in 1944), and the last one was *Glosses on the Ta*



Ya and Song Odes (in Issue 18 in 1946). While the *Glosses on the Book of Documents* was issued in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* in the 20th and 21st issues respectively in 1948 and 1949, which included only 28 chapters of the Old Text, not all the 58 chapters of the existing *Rediscovered Text of The Shangshu*. His other works related to the book were *The Pronoun K'ue in the Shu-king* published in 1933, *The Book of Documents* published in the 22nd issue of *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* in 1950 and the *Index to Glosses on the Book of Odes and Glosses on the Book of Documents* published in the 36th issue of *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* in 1964. *The Book of Documents* was of great academic significance because Bernhard Karlgren made complete and detailed explanations in it.

According to Bernhard Karlgren, the main reason why it was quite difficult to read the book lay in the fact that the ancient language written in this book was far away from modern Chinese, and it could be solved through the rebuilding of the phonetic system in ancient Chinese and the etymological methods. In the "Preface", he continued that his research was based on one basic principle in all notes in *Glosses on the Odes* and *Glosses on the Book of Documents*, that was he always cross-referred to the ancient Chinese phonetics. Only through the study of ancient Chinese phonetics could we solve the complicated phenomenon of loan words (假借). The true meaning of a word could be identified by the etymological methods of finding its word category and root.

His great achievements in language provided a solid foundation in making the glosses for the *Odes* and *The Book of Documents*. Though Confucians in the Qing Dynasty had done much work on revising and annotating the texts and had made great achievements, Bernhard Karlgren's linguistic knowledge and methods of the Western scientific analyses exactly supplemented the deficiencies of the achievements made by the Qing Confucians. He highlighted the following three points. Firstly, the Confucians in the Qing Dynasty just gave a general structure of the ancient sound



system, knowing nothing of the real contents of the ancient sound. Therefore, it was incredible when they said that this or that word sounded the same in ancient sound. Secondly, as for the words' meaning, they held the definitions of the ancient word books such as *Erya* (*Approaching Refinement*, or《尔雅》) and *Shuowen Jiezi* (*Explanations and Analyses of Graphs*, or《说文解字》) in respect, so much so that they ignored many words' applicable examples in ancient books. Thirdly, when citing the sentences from the ancient books, the materials related to the dynasties of Xia, Shang, Zhou, Western Han and Eastern Han couldn't often be identified according to their times.

Chinese scholar Luo Zhiye (罗志野) also translated the book into English, and the original text he used for translation is Zhou Bingjun's (周秉钧) modern Chinese translation. In 1997, Luo's translation was published in Hunan Press.

The best study of the book in other Asian countries was made in Japan, where the study began in the Heian period (or へいあんじだい). Liu Qihua (刘起钊), a Chinese expert on the book, once wrote lots of essays on it. The details of his essays could be referred to his two books *The Early Research on the Shangshu in Japan* and *The Modern Research on the Shangshu in Japan*, which would not be discussed here.

IV. James Legge's English Translation of *The Shangshu*

James Legge's English edition of the book contained 58 chapters of both the New Text and the Rediscovered Text. In his translation, not only did he write a long introduction, but also gave annotations and explanations in great detail. Even nowadays, it is still of great academic significance, and cannot be replaced by other English editions.

After overcoming numerous difficulties and fusing many achievements of other scholars' researches, he finally finished translating the book, a vital academic achievement that provided lots of new ways for translating and annotating Chinese classics and had an epoch-making significance in the



history of Western sinology research. Ever since its publication, James Legge's translation of the book has become one of the Western classics on Chinese academics, which can not be abolished even in the present time. Legge's translation of Chinese classics not only established for him a high reputation in the West, but also set an important milestone in China for Western scholars to spread Chinese culture in the West.

The reason why Legge's translation of the book (including *The Bamboo Annals*《竹书纪年》) is still highly valued in the Western academic fields nowadays lies in the important roles it has played, which could not be replaced by any other translations. For example, Bernhard Karlgren's *Glosses on The Book of Documents* that was published between 1948 and 1949, as well as *The Book of Documents* that was published in 1950 only included the chapters that existed both in the New Text and the Old Text and excluded other 25 chapters of the Rediscovered Text. Though some parts in Karlgren's translation were superior to Legge's for its later publishing, only parts of the items were annotated. Therefore, Karlgren's translation of the book could not take the place of Legge's.

In this reprint, our press decided to reprint Legge's translation after careful comparisons between Legge's translation of the book and other translations, mainly because Legge's translation could still not be surpassed at present time. It is not accidental for Legge to be successful in translating the book. The special background of his education determined his style and characteristics, facing bravely the comprehension difficulties and dealing effectively with the problems in the process of translation with serious attitude. Taking *Shujing Chuanshuo Huizuan* (《书经传说会纂》) and the *Orthodox Exposition of The Shangshu* as the basic reference books, he read a wide range of books for reference whenever he met comprehension difficulties so that he could form relatively expressive annotations that would result in a good translation. In this sense, his translation has gotten rid of the color of so-called "Analogical Interpretation" (格义) and become a systematic one. On the other hand, Legge's translation is still credible at the



present time with considerable values for reference because he not only translated what he knew in his time, but also actually recorded the problems to be solved, which reflected his adept skills and clear mind in the textual research.

Of course, due to the time limits, Legge's translation undoubtedly has the following problems: The first problem is generated from the misunderstandings of the original Chinese classics and old false annotations; the second is the repeated misunderstanding resulting from accepting the errors in the traditional annotations. Under these circumstances, we either referred to the English translations of the book both at home and aboard, including Bernhard Karlgren and Luo Zhiye's translations, or revised James Legge's translation of the book with notes in the light of the annotations and understandings, hoping to bring the unnecessary misunderstandings and mistranslations to the minimum.

The "Jiang" and "He" in the book refer to the Yangtze River and Yellow River in particular, so we put into "Changjiang River" and "Huanghe River" respectively, instead of Legge's "Jiang" and "He". We sincerely express our apologies for being unable to list all the great achievements of former researchers in this "Introduction" for want of space.

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尚 书

Shangshu



周秉钧 今译

理雅各 英译

李伟荣 校注

Translated into modern Chinese by Zhou Bingjun

Translated into English by James Legge

Revised and Annotated by Li Weirong

虞夏书

尧典

【原文】

1. 曰若稽古，帝尧曰放勋，钦明文思安安。允恭克让，光被四表，格于上下。克明俊德，以亲九族。九族既睦，平章百姓。百姓昭明，协和万邦，黎民於变时雍。

2. 乃命羲和，钦若昊天，历象日月星辰，敬授人时。分命羲仲，

【今译】

1. 查考往事，帝尧名叫放勋，他办事认真，明察四方，善理天下，道德纯备，温和宽容。他忠实不懈，又能让贤，光辉普照四方，思虑至于天地。他能发扬大德，使家族亲密和睦。家族和睦以后，又辨明其他各族的政事。众族的政事辨明了，又协调万邦诸侯，天下众民因此也就相递变化友好和睦起来。

2. （他）于是命令羲氏与和氏，敬慎地遵循天数，推算日月星辰运行的规律，制定出历法，敬慎地把天时节令告诉人们。分别命令羲





Books of Yü and Xia

The Canon of Emperor Yao

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) Emperor Yao^① was called Fang-xun^②. He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful,—naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of (all) complaisance. The bright (influence of these qualities) was felt through the four quarters (of the land) , and reached to (heaven) above and (earth) beneath. He made the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of (all in) the nine classes of his kindred, who (thus) became harmonious. He (also) regulated and polished the people (of his domain) , who all became brightly intelligent. (Finally) , he united and harmonized the myriad states; and so the black-haired people were transformed. The result was (universal) concord.

He commanded the Xis and Hes^③, in reverent accordance with (their observation of) the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate (the movements and appearances of) the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces, and so to deliver respectfully the

① Yao is to us now the name of the ancient ruler so denominated. The character means "high", "lofty and grand". It may originally have been an epithet, "the Exalted One".

② Han scholars held that Fang-xun was the name of Yao. Those of the Song Dynasty, taking the characters as an epithet, make them signify "the Highly Meritorious".

③ The Xis and Hes seem to have been brothers of two families, on whom devolved the care of the calendar, principally with a view to regulate the seasons of agriculture.



【原文】

宅嵎夷，曰暘谷。寅宾出日，平秩东作。日中，星鸟，以殷仲春。厥民析，鸟兽孳尾。申命羲叔，宅南交。平秩南讹，敬致。日永，星火，以正仲夏。厥民因，鸟兽希革。分命和仲，宅西，曰昧谷。寅饯纳日，平秩西成。宵中，星虚，以殷仲秋。厥民夷，鸟兽毛毳。申命和叔，宅朔方，曰幽都。平在朔易。日短，星昴，以正仲冬。厥民隤，鸟兽氄毛。

【今译】

仲在遥远的东方日出之处叫暘谷的地方，主持对日出的宾礼祭祀，并引导春天的农作活动按程序进行。白昼和黑夜一样长的日子，傍晚在南方天空正中看到鸟星，可凭以确定是春分节令了。这时候天气温和，人们分散在田野里劳作，鸟兽也在繁殖。又任命羲叔在遥远的南方南交之地，主持对日的敬致之礼，然后引导夏天农作活动按程序进行。白昼最长的日子，傍晚在南方天空正中看到大火星，可凭以确定是夏至节令了。这时天气炎热，农事繁忙，人们无论老幼都出来帮丁壮干活，鸟兽毛羽渐稀，以避炎热。又分别任命和仲在遥远的西方日落之处叫昧谷的地方，主持对落日的礼祭，然后引导秋收活动按程序进行。黑夜和白昼一样长的日子，傍晚在南方天空正中看到虚星，可凭以确定是秋分节令了。这时气候转凉，农作告成，人们渐渐平静下来，鸟兽开始长出齐整的羽毛。又任命和叔居极远的北方幽都，引导冬天的农作活动按程序进行。白昼最短的日子，傍晚在南方天空正中看到昴星团，可凭以确定是冬至节令了。这时天气寒冷，人们都回到



seasons to be observed by the people.

He separately commanded the second brother Xi to reside at Yü-yi, in what was called the Bright Valley, and (there) respectfully to receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labours of the spring. "The day," (said he), "is of the medium length, and the star is in Huo;—you may thus exactly determine mid-spring. The people are dispersed (in the fields), and birds and beasts breed and copulate."

He further commanded the third brother Xi to reside at Nan-jiao (in what was called the Brilliant Capital), to adjust and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully to observe the exact limit (of the shadow). "The day," (said he), "is at its longest, and the star is in Huo;—you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats."

He separately commanded the second brother He to reside at the west, in what was called the Dark Valley, and (there) respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labours of the autumn. "The night," (said he), "is of the medium length, and the star is in Xu;—you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people feel at ease, and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition."

He further commanded the third brother He to reside in the northern region, in what was called the Sombre Capital, and (there) to adjust and examine the changes of the winter. "The day," (said he), "is at its shortest, and the star is in Mao;—you may thus exactly determine mid-winter. The people keep in their



【原文】

帝曰：“咨！汝羲暨和。期三百有六旬有六日，以闰月定四时，成岁。允厘百工，庶绩咸熙。”

3. 帝曰：“畴咨若时登庸？”放齐曰：“胤子朱启明。”帝曰：“吁！鬻讼可乎？”帝曰：“畴咨若予采？”驩兜曰：“都！共工方鸠僝功。”帝曰：“吁！静言庸违，象恭滔天。”帝曰：“咨！四岳，汤汤洪水方割，荡荡怀山襄陵，浩浩滔天。下民其咨，有能俾乂？”

【今译】

屋里，鸟兽也生出细软密集的毛给自己保温了。

尧说：“啊！你们羲氏与和氏啊，一周年是三百六十六天，要用加闰月的办法确定春夏秋冬四季而成一岁。由此规定百官的事务，许多事情就都兴办起来。”

3. 尧帝说：“善治四时之职的是谁啊？我要提拔任用他。”

放齐说：“您的儿子丹朱很开明。”

尧帝说：“唉！他说话虚妄，又好争辩，可以吗？”

尧帝说：“善于处理我们政务的是谁呢？”

驩兜说：“啊！共工防救水灾已具有成效啊。”

尧帝说：“唉！他花言巧语，阳奉阴违，貌似恭谨，而气焰很高。”

尧帝说：“啊！四方诸侯之长！滔滔的洪水普遍危害人们，水势奔腾包围了山岭，淹没了丘陵，浩浩荡荡，弥漫接天。臣民百姓都在叹息，有能使洪水得到治理的人吗？”



houses, and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick. ”

The emperor said, “Ah! you, Xis and Hes, a round year consists of three hundred, sixty, and six days. Do you, by means of the intercalary month, fix the four seasons, and complete (the period of) the year. (Thereafter) the various officers being regulated in accordance with this, all the works (of the year) will be fully performed. ”

The emperor said, “Who will search out (for me) a man according to the times, whom I can raise and employ?” Fang-qi said, “ (Your) heir-son Zhu is highly intelligent. ” The emperor said, “Alas, he is insincere and quarrelsome;—can he do?”

The emperor said, “Who will search out (for me) a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?” Huan-dou said, “Oh! the merits of the Minister of Works have just been displayed on a wide scale. ” The emperor, said, “Alas! when all is quiet, he talks; but when, employed, his actions turn out differently. He is respectful (only) in appearance. See! the floods assail the heavens!”

The emperor said, “Oh! (President of) the Four Mountains^①, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the hills and overtop the great heights, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the lower people groan and murmur! Is there a capable man to whom I can assign the correction (of this calamity) ?” All (in the court) said,

① (President of) the Four Mountains, or simply Four Mountains, appear to have been the title of the chief minister of Yao. The four mountains were—mount Tai in the east; Hua in the west, in Shaan-xi; Heng in the south, in Hu-nan; and Heng in the north. These, probably, were the limits of the country, so far as known, and all within these points were the care of the chief minister.



【原文】

兪曰：“於！鯀哉。”

帝曰：“吁！咈哉，方命圯族。”

岳曰：“异哉！试可乃已。”

帝曰：“往，钦哉！”九载，绩用弗成。

4. 帝曰：“咨！四岳。朕在位七十载，汝能庸命，巽朕位！”

岳曰：“否德忝帝位。”

曰：“明明扬侧陋。”

师锡帝曰：“有齔在下，曰虞舜。”帝曰：“兪！予闻，如何？”

岳曰：“瞽子，父顽，母嚚，象傲，克谐。以孝烝烝，乂不格奸。”

帝曰：“我其试哉！女于时，观厥刑于二女。”厘降二女于妫汭，嬪于虞。

帝曰：“钦哉！”

【今译】

人们都说：“啊！鯀吧。”

尧帝说：“唉！他违背人意，不服从命令，危害族人。”

四方诸侯之长说：“起用吧！试试可以，就用他。”

尧帝说：“去吧，鯀！要谨慎啊！”过了九年，成效不好。

4. 尧帝说：“啊！四方诸侯之长！我在位七十年，只有你们能完成我交给你们的使命，你们来接替帝位吧。”

四方诸侯之长说：“我们德行鄙陋，不配继承帝位。”

尧帝说：“可以明察贵戚，也可以推举地位低微的人。”

众人对尧帝说：“在下面有一个单身汉，名叫虞舜。”

尧帝说：“是的，我也听说过，这个人怎么样呢？”

四方诸侯之长回答说：“他是一个瞎老头的儿子。他的父亲心术不正，后母说话不诚，弟弟象傲慢不友好，而舜能同他们和谐相处。因他的孝心醇厚，治理国务不至于坏吧！”

尧帝说：“我试试吧！把我的两个女儿嫁给舜，从两个女儿那里观察舜的德行。”于是命令两个女儿下到妫水湾，嫁给虞舜。

尧帝说：“敬慎地处理政务吧！”



“Ah! is there not Gun^①?” The emperor said, “Alas! how perverse is he! He is disobedient to orders, and tries to injure his peers.” (The President of) the Mountains said, “Well but—. Try if he can (accomplish the work).” (Gun) was employed accordingly.

The emperor said (to him), “Go; and be reverent!” For nine years he laboured, but the work was unaccomplished.

The emperor said, “Oh! (President of) the Four Mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years. You can carry out my commands;—I will resign my place to you.” The Chief said, “I have not the virtue; I should disgrace your place.” (The emperor) said, “Show me some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean.” All (then) said to the emperor, “There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yü”. The emperor said, “Yes, I have heard of him. What have you to say about him?” The Chief said, “He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his stepmother was insincere; his halfbrother Xiang was arrogant. He has been able, (however), by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they (no longer) proceed to great wickedness.” The emperor said, “I will try him; I will wive him, and thereby see his behaviour with my two daughters.” (Accordingly) he arranged and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Gui^②, to be wives in (the family of) Yü. The emperor said to them, “Be reverent!”

① Gun is believed to have been the father of Yü, who afterwards coped successfully with the inundation. We are told that he was earl of Chong, corresponding to the present district of Hu, in Shaan-xi.

② The Gui is a small stream in Shaan-xi, which flows into Huanghe River.

舜 典

【原文】

1. 曰：若稽古帝舜，曰重华。濬哲文明，温恭允塞。玄德升闻，乃命以位。

慎徽五典，五典克从。纳于百揆，百揆时叙。宾于四门，四门穆穆。纳于大麓，烈风雷雨弗迷。

帝曰：“格！汝舜。询事考言，乃言底可绩，三载。汝陟帝位。”舜让于德，弗嗣。

【今译】

1. 查考往事，帝舜名叫重华，能够与帝尧和协相处。他的智虑深沉，举止文明，秉性温良，恭敬诚实。他那潜在的美德终于传到尧的耳里，于是决定让他试任各种职位：叫他掌管教化。舜慎重地赞美父义、母慈、兄友、弟恭、子孝这五常之教，人们都能顺从。舜总理百官，百官都能承顺。舜在明堂四门迎接四方宾客，四方宾客都肃然起敬。舜担任守山林的官，在暴风雷雨的恶劣天气也不迷误。

尧帝说：“来吧！舜啊。我同你谋划政事，又考察你的言论，你提的建议一定可以成功，已经三年了，你登上帝位吧！”

舜要让给有德的人，不肯继承。





The Canon of Emperor Shun

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) Emperor Shun^① was styled Chong-hua^②. His character was entirely conformed to (that of) the (former) Emperor, he was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and courteous, and truly sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to office.

(Shun) carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be (universally) observed. Being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of every (official) department were arranged in their proper seasons. (Being charged) to receive (the princes) from the four quarters of the land, they were all docilely submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, notwithstanding the tempests of wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray.

Emperor said, " Come, you Shun. I have consulted you on (all) affairs, and examined your words, and found that they can be carried into practice (now) for three years. Do you ascend the seat of Emperor. " Shun wished to decline in favour of some one more virtuous, and not to consent to be (Yao's) successor. On the first day of the first month, (however) , he received (Yao's) retirement

① If Shun be taken as an epithet, it will mean "the Benevolent and Sage".

② Chong-hua, the name of Shun according to Han scholars, may mean "the Glorious (Yao) repeated".



【原文】

2. 正月上日，受终于文祖。在璇玑玉衡，以齐七政。肆类于上帝，禋于六宗，望于山川，遍于群神。辑五瑞。既月乃日，觐四岳群牧，班瑞于群后。

岁二月，东巡守，至于岱宗，柴。望秩于山川，肆觐东后。协时月正日，同律度量衡。修五礼、五玉、三帛、二生、一死贄。如五器，卒乃复。五月南巡守，至于南岳，如岱礼。

八月西巡守，至于西岳，如初。

【今译】

2. 正月的一个吉日，舜在尧的太庙接受了禅让的册命。他观察了北斗七星，根据斗柄所指来认识，处理四季农事与民生要政。于是向天帝报告继承帝位的事，又祭祀了天地四时，祭祀山川和群神。又聚斂了诸侯的五种圭玉，选择吉月吉日，接受四方诸侯君长的朝见，把圭玉颁发给各位君长。

这年二月，舜到东方巡视，到达泰山，举行了柴祭。对于其他山川，都按地位尊卑依次举行了祭祀，然后，接受了东方诸侯君长的朝见。协调春夏秋冬四时的月份，确定天数，统一音律、度、量、衡。制定了公侯伯子男朝聘的礼节、五种瑞玉、三种不同颜色的丝绸、活羊羔、活雁、死野鸡，分别作为诸侯、卿大夫和士朝见时的贡物。而五种瑞玉，朝见完毕后，仍然还给诸侯。

五月，舜到南方巡视，到达南岳，所行的礼节同在泰山时一样。

八月，舜到西方巡视，到达西岳，所行的礼节同当初一样。



(from his duties) in the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor. ①

He examined the pearl-adorned turning sphere, with its transverse tube of jade, and reduced to a harmonious system (the movements of) the Seven Directors. ②

Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honoured Ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits.

He called in (all) the five jade-symbols of rank; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to (the President of) the Four Mountains, and all the Pastors, (finally) returning their symbols to the various princes.

In the second month of the year he made a tour of inspection eastwards, as far as Dai-zong, where he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers. Thereafter he gave audience to the princes of the east. He set in accord their seasons and months, and regulated the days; he made uniform the standard-tubes, with the measures of length and of capacity, and the steelyards; he regulated the five (classes of) ceremonies, with (the various) articles of introduction—the five symbols of jade, the three kinds of silk, the two living (animals) and the one dead one. As to the five instruments of rank, when all was over, he returned them. In the fifth month he made a similar tour southwards, as far as the mountain of the south, where he observed the same ceremonies as at Dai. In the eighth month he made a tour

① The Accomplished Ancestor would be, probably, the individual in some distant time to whom Yao traced his possession of the throne.

② Probably the seven stars of the Great Bear.



【原文】

十有一月朔巡守，至于北岳，如西礼。

归，格于艺祖，用特。

五载一巡守，群后四朝。敷奏以言，明试以功，车服以庸。

肇十有二州，封十有二山，浚川。

象以典刑。流宥五刑，鞭作官刑，扑作教刑，金作赎刑。眚灾肆赦，怙终贼刑。钦哉，钦哉，惟刑之恤哉！

流共工于幽州，放驩兜于崇山，窜三苗于三危，殛鲧于羽山，四罪而天下咸服。

【今译】

十一月，舜到北方巡视，所行的礼节同在西岳一样。

回来后，到尧的太庙祭祀，用一头牛作祭品。

以后，每五年巡视一次，诸侯在四岳朝见。普遍地使他们报告政务，然后考察他们的政绩，赏赐车马衣物作为酬劳。

舜划定十二州的疆界，在十二州的名山上封土为坛举行祭祀，又疏通了河道。

舜又在器物上刻画五种常用的刑罚。用流放的办法宽恕犯了五刑的罪人，用鞭打作为官的刑罚，用木条打作为学校的刑罚，用铜作为赎罪的刑罚。因过失犯罪，就赦免他；有所依仗不知悔改，就要施加刑罚。谨慎啊，谨慎啊，刑罚要慎重啊！

于是把共工流放到幽州，把驩兜流放到崇山，把三苗驱逐到三危，把鲧流放到羽山，这四个人处罚了，天下的人都心悦诚服。



westwards, as far as the mountain of the west, where he did as before. In the eleventh month he made a tour northwards, as far as the mountain of the north, where he observed the same ceremonies as in the west. He (then) returned (to the capital), went to (the temple of) the Cultivated Ancestor, and sacrificed a single bull.

In five years there was one tour of inspection, and there were four appearances of the princes at court. They gave a report (of their government) in words, which was clearly tested by their works. They received chariots and robes according to their merits.

He instituted division (of the land) into twelve provinces, raising altars upon twelve hills in them. He (also) deepened the rivers.

He exhibited (to the people) the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five (great) inflictions; with the whip to be employed in the magistrates' courts, the stick to be employed in schools,^① and money to be received for redeemable offences. Inadvertent offences and those which could be ascribed to misfortune were to be pardoned, but those who transgressed presumptuously and repeatedly were to be punished with death. "Let me be reverent! Let me be reverent!" (he said to himself.) "Let compassion rule in punishment!"

He banished the Minister of Works to You island; confined Huan-dou on mount Chong; drove (the chief of) San-miao (and his people) into San-wei, and kept them there; and held Gun a prisoner till death on mount Yu. These four criminals being thus dealt with, all under heaven acknowledged the justice (of Shun's admin-

① This punishment was for officers in training; not for boys at school.



【原文】

3. 二十有八载，帝乃殂落。百姓如丧考妣，三载，四海遏密八音。月正元日，舜格于文祖，询于四岳，辟四门，明四目，达四聪。

“咨，十有二牧！”曰：“食哉惟时！柔远能迩，惇德允元，而难任人，蛮夷率服。”

舜曰：“咨，四岳！有能奋庸熙帝之载，使宅百揆亮采，惠畴？”

金曰：“伯禹作司空。”

帝曰：“俞，咨！禹，汝平水土，惟时懋哉！”禹拜稽首，让于稷、契暨皋陶。

帝曰：“俞，汝往哉！”

帝曰：“弃，黎民阻饥，汝后稷，播时百谷。”

【今译】

3. 舜辅助尧帝二十八年后，尧帝逝世了。人们好像死了父母一样地悲痛，三年间，全国上下停止了乐音。明年正月的一个吉日，舜到了尧的太庙，与四方诸侯君长谋划政事，打开明堂四门宣布政教，使四方见得明白，听得透彻。

“啊，十二州的君长！”舜帝说：“生产民食，必须依时！安抚远方的臣民，爱护近处的臣民，亲厚有德的人，信任善良的人，而又拒绝邪佞的人，这样，边远的外族都会服从。”

舜帝说：“啊！四方诸侯的君长！有谁能奋发努力、发扬光大尧帝的事业，使居百揆之官辅佐政事呢？”

都说：“伯禹现在作司空。”

舜帝说：“好啊！禹，你曾经平定水土，还要努力做好百揆这件事啊！”禹跪拜叩头，让给稷、契和皋陶。

舜帝说：“好啦，还是你去吧！”

舜帝说：“弃，人们忍饥挨饿，你主持农业，教人们播种各种谷



istration).

After twenty-eight years Emperor deceased, when the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. Within the four seas all the eight kinds of instruments of music were stopped and hushed. On the first day of the first month (of the) next year, Shun went to (the temple of) the Accomplished Ancestor.

He deliberated with (the President of) the Four Mountains how to throw open the doors (of communication between himself and the) four (quarters of the land), and how he could see with the eyes, and hear with the ears of all.

He consulted with the twelve Pastors, and said to them, "The food! — it depends on observing the seasons. Be kind to distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honour to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful — so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission."

Shun said, "Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, is there any one who can with vigorous service attend to all the affairs of Emperor, whom I may appoint to be General Regulator, to assist me in (all) affairs, managing each department according to its nature?" All (in the court) replied, "There is Bo-Yu, the Minister of Works." Emperor said, "Yes. Ho! Yu, you have regulated the water and the land. In this (new office) exert yourself." Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of the Minister of Agriculture, or Xie, or Gao-yao. Emperor said, "Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties)."

Emperor said, "Qi, the black-haired people are (still) suffering from famine. Do you, O prince, as Minister of Agriculture,



【原文】

帝曰：“契，百姓不亲，五品不逊。汝作司徒，敬敷五教，在宽。”

帝曰：“皋陶，蛮夷猾夏，寇贼奸宄。汝作士，五刑有服，五服三就。五流有宅，五宅三居。惟明克允！”

帝曰：“畴若予工？”

金曰：“垂哉！”

帝曰：“俞，咨！垂，汝共工。”垂拜稽首，让于殳斨暨伯与。

帝曰：“俞，往哉！汝谐。”

帝曰：“畴若予上下草木鸟兽？”

金曰：“益哉！”

帝曰：“俞，咨！益，汝作朕虞。”益拜稽首，让于朱虎、熊罴。

【今译】

物吧！”

舜帝说：“契，百姓不亲，父母兄弟子女都不和顺。你作司徒吧，谨慎地施行五常教育，要注意宽厚。”

舜帝说：“皋陶，外族侵扰我们中国，抢劫杀人，造成外患内乱。你作狱官之长吧，五刑各有使用的方法，五种用法分别在野外、市、朝三处执行。五种流放各有处所，分别住在三个远近不同的地方。要明察案情，处理公允！”

舜帝说：“谁能当好掌管我们百工的官？”

都说：“垂啊！”

舜帝说：“好啊！垂，你掌管百工的官吧！”垂跪拜叩头，让给殳斨和伯与。

舜帝说：“好啦，去吧！你同他们一起去吧！”

舜帝说：“谁掌管我们的山丘草泽的草木鸟兽呢？”

都说：“益啊！”

舜帝说：“好啊！益，你担任我的虞官吧。”益跪拜叩头，让给朱虎和熊罴。



(continue to) sow (for them) the various kinds of grain. ”

Emperor said, “Xie, the people are (still) wanting in affection for one another, and do not docilely, observe the five orders of relationship. It is yours, as the Minister of Instruction, reverently, to set forth the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness. ”

Emperor said, “Gao-yao, the barbarous tribes trouble our great land. There are (also) robbers, murderers, insurgents, and traitors. It is yours, as the Minister of Crime, to use the five punishments to deal with their offences. For the infliction of these there are the three appointed places. There are the five cases in which banishment in the appropriate places is to be resorted to, to which places, though five, three localities are assigned. Perform your duties with intelligence, and you will secure a sincere (submission). ”

Emperor said, “Who can superintend my works, as they severally require?” All (in the court) replied, “Is there not Chui?” Emperor said, “Yes. Ho! Chui, you must be Minister of Works. ” Chui did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Shu, Qiang, or Bo-Yü. Emperor said, “Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Effect a harmony (in all the departments). ”

Emperor said, “Who can superintend, as the nature of the charge requires, the grass and trees, with the birds and beasts on my hills and in my marshes?” All (in the court) replied, “Is there not Yi?” Emperor said, “Yes. Ho! Yi, do you be my Forester. ” Yi did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Zhu, Hu, Xiong, or Pi. Emperor said, “Yes, but



【原文】

帝曰：“俞，往哉！汝谐。”

帝曰：“咨，四岳，有能典朕三礼？”

金曰：“伯夷！”

帝曰：“俞，咨！伯，汝作秩宗。夙夜惟寅，直哉惟清。”伯拜稽首，让于夔、龙。

帝曰：“俞，往钦哉！”

帝曰：“夔！命汝典乐，教胄子，直而温，宽而栗，刚而无虐，简而无傲。诗言志，歌永言，声依永，律和声。八音克谐，无相夺伦，神人以和。”

夔曰：“於！予击石拊石，百兽率舞。”

帝曰：“龙！朕丕谗说殄行，震惊朕师。命汝作纳言，夙夜出纳朕命，惟允！”

【今译】

舜帝说：“好啦，去吧，你同他们一起去吧！”

舜帝说：“啊！四方诸侯的君长，有谁能主持我们祭祀天神、地祇、人鬼的三礼呢？”

都说：“伯夷！”

舜帝说：“好啊！伯，你作掌管祭祀的礼官吧。要早晚恭敬行事，又要正直、清明。”伯夷跪拜叩头，让给夔和龙。

舜帝说：“好啦，去吧！要谨慎啊！”

舜帝说：“夔！任命你主持乐官，教导年轻人，使他们正直而温和，宽大而坚栗，刚毅而不粗暴，简约而不傲慢。诗是表达思想感情的，歌是唱出来的语言，五声是根据所唱而制定的，六律是和谐五声的。八类乐器的声音能够调和，不使它们乱了次序，那么神和人都会因此而和谐了。”

夔说：“啊！我愿意敲击着石磬，使扮演各种兽类的依着音乐舞蹈起来。”

舜帝说：“龙！我厌恶谗毁的言论和贪残的行为，会使我的民众震惊。我任命你做纳言的官，早晚传达我的命令，转告下面的意见，应当真实！”



do you go(and undertake the duties). You must manage them harmoniously. ”

Emperor said, “Ho! (President of the) Four Mountains, is there any one able to direct my three(religious) ceremonies?” All (in the court) answered, “Is there not Bo-yi?” Emperor said, “Yes. Ho! Bo, you must be the Arranger in the Ancestral Temple. Morning and night be reverent. Be upright, be pure. ” Bo did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Kui or Long. Emperor said, “Yes, but do you go(and undertake the duties). Be reverential!”

Emperor said, “Kui, I appoint you to be Director of Music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward shall yet be mild; the gentle, dignified; the strong, not tyrannical; and the impetuous, not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression; the notes accompany that utterance, and they are harmonized themselves by the standard tubes. (In this way) the eight different kinds of musical instruments can be adjusted so that one shall not take from or interfere with another; and spirits and men are brought into harmony. ” Kui said, “I smite the (sounding-) stone, I gently strike it, and the various animals lead on one another to dance. ”

Emperor said, “Long^①, I abominate slanderous speakers and destroyers of the(right) ways, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you to be the Minister of Communication. Early and late give forth my orders and report to me, seeing that everything is true. ”

① We are in ignorance of “long”, as we are of “gui”. The character denotes “the dragon”.



【原文】

帝曰：“咨！汝二十有二人，钦哉！惟时亮天功。”

三载考绩，三考，黜陟幽明，庶绩咸熙。分北三苗。

4. 舜生三十征，庸三十，在位五十载，陟方乃死。

【今译】

舜帝说：“啊！你们二十二人，要谨慎啊！要好好领导天下大事啊！”

舜帝三年考察一次政绩，考察三次后，罢免昏庸的官员，提拔贤明的官员，于是，许多工作都兴办起来了。又分别对三苗之族作了安置。

4. 舜三十岁时被征召，施政二十年，在帝位五十年，而后才逝世。



Emperor said, "Ho! you, twenty and two men, be reverent; so shall you. Be helpful to the business(entrusted to me by) Heaven. "

Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving advanced. (By this arrangement) the duties of all the departments were fully discharged; the(people of) San-miao(also) were discriminated and separated.

In the thirtieth year of his age, Shun was called to employment. Twenty years he was on the throne(with Yao). Fifty years afterwards he went on high and died. ^①

^① The Chinese text is here difficult to construe. Zhu Xi says that the term "went on high" is appropriate to the death of the Son of Heaven; and that the meaning is that Shun went to heaven.



大禹谟（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 曰若稽古。大禹曰文命，敷于四海，祇承于帝。

曰：“后克艰厥后，臣克艰厥臣，政乃乂，黎民敏德。”

帝曰：“俞！允若兹，嘉言罔攸伏，野无遗贤，万邦咸宁。稽于众，舍己从人，不虐无告，不废困穷，惟帝时克。”

益曰：“都！帝德广运，乃圣乃神，乃武乃文；皇天眷命，奄有四海，为天下君。”

【今译】

1. 稽考古事。大禹名叫文命，他对四海进行治理之后，又敬慎地辅助帝舜。

他说：“君主能够重视做君主的道理，臣下能够重视做臣下的职务，政事就能治理，众民就能勉力于德行了。”

帝舜说：“对！真像这样，好主意不会被搁置不用，朝廷之外没有被遗弃的贤人，万国之民就都安宁了。政难事同众人研究，舍弃私见以依从众人，不虐待无告的人，不放弃困难的事，只有帝尧能够这样。”

伯益说：“尧德广远，这样圣明，这样神妙，这样英武，这样华美；于是上天顾念，他尽有四海之内，而做天下的君主。”



The Counsels of the Great Yü

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Great Yü^① was styled Wen-ming^②. Having arranged and divided (the land) , all to the four seas, in reverent response to the Emperor, he said, "If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignty, and the minister the difficulty of his ministry, the government will be well ordered, and the black-haired people will sedulously seek to be virtuous. "

The Emperor said, "Yes. Let this really be the case, and good words will nowhere lie hidden; no men of virtue and talents will be left neglected, away from court, and the myriad states will all enjoy repose. (But) to obtain the views of all; to give up one's opinion and follow that of others; to keep from oppressing the helpless, and not to neglect the straitened and poor—it was only the (former) Emperor who could attain to this. "

Yi said, "Oh! your virtue, O Emperor, is vast and incessant. It is sagely, spirit-like, awe-inspiring, and adorned with all accomplishments. Great Heaven regarded you with its favour, and bestowed on you its appointment. Suddenly you possessed all within the four seas, and became ruler of all under heaven. "

① The name Yü, taken as an epithet, would mean "the unconstrained. " As an epithet after death, it has the meaning of "Receiving the Resignation and Perfecting the Merit"; but this is evidently based on the commonly received history of Yü.

② Wen-ming may be translated, "the Accomplished and the Issuer of Commands".



【原文】

禹曰：“惠迪吉，从逆凶，惟影响。”

益曰：“吁！戒哉！儆戒无虞，罔失法度，罔游于逸，罔淫于乐。任贤勿贰，去邪勿疑，疑谋勿成，百志惟熙。罔违道以干百姓之誉，罔咈百姓以从己之欲。无怠无荒，四夷来王。”

禹曰：“於！帝念哉！德惟善政，政在养民。水、火、金、木、土、谷惟修，正德、利用、厚生惟和，九功惟叙，九叙惟歌。戒之用休，董之用威，劝之以九歌，俾勿坏。”

【今译】

禹说：“顺从善就吉，顺从恶就得祸，就像影随形，响应声一样。”

伯益说：“啊！要戒慎呀！警戒不要失误，不要放弃法度，不要优游于逸豫，不要放恣于安乐。任用贤人不要怀疑，罢去邪人不要犹豫。可疑之谋不要实行，各种思虑应当广阔。不要违背正道来取得百姓的称赞，不要违背百姓来顺从自己的私心。对这些不要懈怠，不要荒忽，四方各民族的首领就会来朝见天子了。”

禹说：“啊！帝要记住呀！帝德应当使政治美好，政治在于养民。水、火、金、木、土、谷六种生活资料应当治理，端正人民品德、丰富人民财用、改善人民生活，这三件利民的事应当配合，这九件事应当理顺，九事理顺了应当歌颂。又用美好的前景诱导人他们，用威罚监督人民，用九歌勉励人民，政事就不会败坏了。”



Yü said, " Accordance with the right leads to good fortune; following what is opposed to it, to bad—the shadow and the echo. "

Yi said, " Alas! be cautious! Admonish yourself to caution, when there seems to be no occasion for anxiety. Do not fail to observe the laws and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in idleness. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not carry out plans, of (the wisdom of) which you have doubts. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right, to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people ' s (wishes) , to follow your own desires. (Attend to these things) without idleness or omission, and the barbarous tribes all around will come and acknowledge your sovereignty. "

Yü said, " Oh! think (of these things) , O Emperor. The virtue (of the ruler) is seen in (his) good government, and that government in the nourishing of the people. There are water, fire, metal, wood, the earth, and grain, —these must be duly regulated; there are the rectification of (the people ' s) virtue, (the tools and other things) that supply the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation, —these must be harmoniously attended to. When the nine services (thus indicated) have been orderly accomplished, that accomplishment will be hailed by (the people ' s) songs. Caution them with gentle (words) , correct them with the majesty (of law) , stimulate them with the songs on those nine subjects, —in order that (your success) may not suffer diminution. "



【原文】

帝曰：“俞！地平天成，六府三事允治，万世永赖，时乃功。”

2. 帝曰：“格汝禹！朕宅帝位三十有三载，耄期倦于勤。汝惟不怠，总朕师。”

禹曰：“朕德罔克，民不依。皋陶迈种德，德乃降，黎民怀之。帝念哉！念兹在兹，释兹在兹，名言兹在兹，允出兹在兹。惟帝念功！”

帝曰：“皋陶！惟兹臣庶，罔或干予正，汝作士，明于五刑，以弼五教，期于予治。刑期于无刑，民协于中。时乃功，懋哉！”

皋陶曰：“帝德罔愆。临下以简，御众以宽；罚弗及嗣，赏延于

【今译】

帝舜说：“对！水土平治，万物成长，六府和三事真实办好了，是万世永利的事业，这是您的功勋。”

2. 帝舜说：“您来呀，禹！我居帝位，三十三年了，年岁老耄被勤劳的事务所苦。您当努力不怠，总管我的众民。”

禹说：“我的德不能胜任，人民不会依归。皋陶勤勉树立德政，德惠能下施于民，众民怀念他。帝当顾念他呀！挂念德的是皋陶，悦德的是皋陶，宣扬德的是皋陶，诚心推行德的也是皋陶。帝要深念他的功绩呀！”

帝舜说：“皋陶！这些臣民没有人干犯我的政事，因为您做士官，能明五刑以辅助五常之教，合于我们的治道。施刑而期待达到无刑的地步，人民都能合于中道。这是您的功劳，做得真好呀！”

皋陶说：“帝德没有失误。用简约治民，用宽缓御众；刑罚不及于



The Emperor said, "The earth has been reduced to order, and the (influences of) heaven produce their complete effect; those six treasures of nature and three functions of government are all truly regulated, and may be depended on for a myriad generations:—this is your merit."

The Emperor said, "Come, you Yü. I have occupied my place for thirty and three years. I am between ninety and a hundred years old, and the laborious duties weary me. Do you, eschewing all indolence, take the leading of my people."

Yü replied, "My virtue is not equal (to the position), and the people will not repose in me. (But there is) Gao-yao with vigorous activity sowing abroad his virtue, which has descended on the black-haired people, till they cherish him in their hearts. O Emperor, think of him! When I think of him, (my mind) rests on him (as the man fit for this place); when I would put him out of my thoughts, (my mind still) rests on him; when I name and speak of him, (my mind) rests on him (for this); the sincere outgoing of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O Emperor, think of his merits."

The Emperor said, "Gao-yao, that of these my ministers and all (my people) hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of the government is owing to your being Minister of Crime, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments, thereby assisting (the inculcation of) the five cardinal duties, with a view to the perfection of my government, and that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with (the path of) the Mean. (Continue to) be strenuous."

Gao-yao replied, "Your virtue, O Emperor, is faultless. You



【原文】

世；宥过无大，刑故无小；罪疑惟轻，功疑惟重；与其杀不辜，宁失不经。好生之德洽于民心，兹用不犯于有司。”

帝曰：“俾予从欲以治，四方风动，惟乃之休。”

帝曰：“来，禹！洺水做予，成允成功，惟汝贤；克勤于邦，克俭于家，不自满假，惟汝贤。汝惟不矜，天下莫与汝争能；汝惟不伐，天下莫与汝争功。予懋乃德，嘉乃丕绩。天之历数在汝躬，汝终陟元

【今译】

子孙，奖赏扩大到后代，宽宥过失不论罪多大，处罚故意犯罪不问罪多小；罪可疑时就从轻，功有疑时却从重给奖；与其杀掉无罪的人，宁肯自己犯不执行常法的罪。帝好生的美德，合于民心，因此人民就不冒犯官吏。”

帝舜说：“使我依从人民的愿望来治理，四方人民像草木随风而动，是您做的好事啊。”

帝舜说：“来，禹！天降洪水警戒我们的时候，实现政教的信诺，完成治水的工作，只有你贤；能勤劳于国，能节俭于家，不自满自大，只有你贤。你不自以为贤，所以天下没有人与你争能；你不夸功，所以天下没有人与你争功。我赞美你的德行，嘉许你的大功。上天的大命落到你的身上了，你终当升为大君。人心危险，道心精微，



condescend to your ministers with a kindly ease; you preside over the multitudes with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to (the criminal's) heirs, while rewards reach to (succeeding) generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great, and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put an innocent person to death, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers."

The emperor said, "That I am able to follow and obtain what I desire in my government, the people responding everywhere as if moved by the wind,—this is your excellence."

The emperor said, "Come Yü. The inundating waters filled me with dread, when you accomplished truly (all that you had represented), and completed your service;—thus showing your superiority to other men. Full of toilsome earnestness in the service of the country, and sparing in your expenditure on your family, and this without being full of yourself and elated,—you (again) show your superiority to other men. You are without any prideful assumption, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of ability; you make no boasting, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of merit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend (the throne) of the great sovereign. The mind of man is restless, prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely



【原文】

后。人心惟危，道心惟微，惟精惟一，允执厥中。无稽之言勿听，弗询之谋勿庸。可爱非君？可畏非民？众非元后何戴？后非众罔与守邦。钦哉！慎乃有位，敬修其可愿。四海困穷，天禄永终。惟口出好兴戎，朕言不再。”

禹曰：“枚卜功臣，惟吉之从。”

帝曰：“禹！官占，惟先蔽志，昆命于元龟。朕志先定，询谋佥同，鬼神其依，龟筮协从，卜不习吉。”

禹拜稽首，固辞。

帝曰：“毋！惟汝谐。”

正月朔旦，受命于神宗，率百官若帝之初。

【今译】

要精研要专一，诚实保持着中道。无信验的话不要听，独断的谋划不要听。可爱的不是君主而是民？可畏的不是民而是君失其道。众人除非大君，他们拥护什么？君主没有众人，没有跟他守国的人。要恭敬啊！慎重对待你的大位，敬行人民可愿的事。如果四海人民困穷，天的福命就将永远终止了。虽然口能说好说坏，但是我的话不再改变了。”

禹说：“请逐个卜问有功的大臣，然后听从吉卜吧！”

帝舜说：“禹！官占的办法，先定志向，而后告于大龟。我的志向先已定了，询问商量的意见都相同，鬼神依顺，龟筮也协和、依从，况且卜筮的办法不需重复出现吉兆。”

禹跪拜叩首，再辞。

帝舜说：“不要这样！只有你适合啊！”

正月初一早晨，禹在尧庙接受帝舜的任命，像帝舜受命之时那样



hold fast the Mean, Do not listen to unsubstantiated words; do not follow plans about which you have not sought counsel. Of all who are to be loved, is not the ruler the chief? Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief? If the multitude were without their sovereign Head, whom should they sustain aloft? If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him. Be reverential! Carefully maintain the throne which you are to occupy, cultivating (the virtues) that are to be desired in you. If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your Heaven conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end. It is the mouth which sends forth what is good, and raises up war. I will not alter my words. "

Yü said, "Submit the meritorious ministers one by one to the trial of divination, and let the favouring indication be followed. "

The emperor replied, "(According to the rules for) the regulation of divination, one should first make up his mind, and afterwards refer (his judgment) to the great tortoise-shell. My mind (in this matter) was determined in the first place; I consulted and deliberated with all (my ministers and people) , and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, and the tortoise-shell and divining stalks concurred. Divination, when fortunate, should not be repeated. " Yü did obeisance with his head to the ground, and firmly declined (the place) .

The emperor said, " You must not do so. It is you who can suitably (occupy my place) . "

On the first morning of the first month, (Yü) received the appointment in the temple (dedicated by Shun) to the spirits of his



【原文】

3. 帝曰：“咨禹！惟时有苗弗率，汝徂征！”

禹乃会群后，誓于师曰：“济济有众，咸听朕命！蠢兹有苗，昏迷不恭，侮慢自贤，反道败德。君子在野，小人在位。民弃不保，天降之咎。肆予以尔众士，奉辞罚罪。尔尚一乃心力，其克有勋。”

三旬，苗民逆命。

益赞于禹曰：“惟德动天，无远弗届。满招损，谦受益，时乃天道。帝初于历山，往于田，日号泣于旻天，于父母，负罪引慝；祗载见瞽瞍，夔夔斋慄。瞽亦允若。至诚感神，矧兹有苗？”

【今译】

统率着百官。

3. 帝舜说：“嗟，禹！这些苗民不依教命，你前去征讨他们！”

禹于是会合诸侯，告诫众人说：“众位军士，都听从我的命令！无知盲动的苗民，执迷不悟，侮慢常法，妄自尊大；违反正道，败坏常德；贤人在野，小人在位。人民抛弃他们不予保护，上天也降罪于他。所以我率领你们众士，奉行帝舜的命令，讨伐苗民之罪。你们应当同心同力，就能有功。”

经过三十天，苗民还是负隅顽抗。

伯益会见了禹，说：“施德可以感动上天，远人没有不来的。盈满招损，谦虚受益，这是自然规律。帝舜先前到历山去耕田的时候，天天向上天号泣，向父母号泣，自己负罪引咎；恭敬行事去见瞽瞍，诚



ancestors^①, and took the leading of all the officers, as had been done by the emperor at the commencement (of his government).

The emperor said, "Alas! O Yü, there is only the lord of Miao who refuses obedience; do you go and correct him."

Yü on this assembled all the princes, and made a speech to the host, saying, "Ye multitudes here arrayed, listen all of you to my orders. Stupid is this lord of Miao, ignorant, erring, and disrespectful. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys (all the obligations of) virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill (all) the offices. The people reject him and will not protect him. Heaven is sending down calamities upon him. I therefore, along with you, my multitude of gallant men, bear the instructions (of the Emperor) to punish his crimes. Do you proceed with united heart and strength, so shall our enterprize be crowned with success."

At the end of thirty days, the people of Miao continued rebellious against the commands (issued to them), when Yi came to the help of Yü, saying, "It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase;—this is the way of Heaven. In the early time of the Emperor, when he was living by mount Li, he went into the fields, and daily cried with tears to compassionate Heaven, and to his parents, taking to himself all guilt, and charging himself with (their) wickedness. (At the same time) with respectful service he

① Many contend that this was the ancestral temple of Yao. But we learn from Confucius, in the seventeenth chapter of *The Doctrine of the Mean*, that Shun had established such a temple for his own ancestors, which must be that intended here.

【原文】

禹拜昌言曰：“俞！”

班师振旅，帝乃诞敷文德，舞干羽于两阶。七旬，有苗格。

【今译】

惶诚恐庄敬战栗。瞽瞍也信任顺从了他。至诚感通了神明，何况这些苗民呢？”

禹拜谢伯益的嘉言，说：“对！”

班师回去后，帝舜于是大施文教，又在两阶之间拿着干盾和雉尾载歌载舞。经过七十天，苗民自动来归附了。





appeared before Gu-sou, looking grave and awe-struck, till Gu also became transformed by his example. Entire sincerity moves spiritual beings,—how much more will it move this lord of Miao!”

Yü did homage to the excellent words, and said, “Yes.” (Thereupon) he led back his army, having drawn off the troops. The emperor set about diffusing on a grand scale the virtuous influences of peace;—with shields and feathers they danced between the two staircases (in his courtyard). In seventy days, the lord of Miao came (and made his submission).



皋陶谟

【原文】

曰若稽古。皋陶曰：“允迪厥德，谟明弼谐。”

禹曰：“俞，如何？”

皋陶曰：“都！慎厥身，修思永。惇叙九族，庶明励翼，迓可远，在兹。”

禹拜昌言曰：“俞！”

皋陶曰：“都！在知人，在安民。”

禹曰：“吁！咸若时，惟帝其难之。知人则哲，能官人。安民则

【今译】

查考往事。皋陶说：“诚实地履行那些德行，就会决策英明，群臣同心协力。”

禹说：“是啊！怎样履行呢？”

皋陶说：“啊！要谨慎其身，自身的修养要坚持不懈。要使近亲宽厚顺从，使贤人勉力辅佐，由近及远，完全在于从这里做起。”

禹听了这番精当的言论，拜谢说：“对呀！”

皋陶说：“啊！除了自身的修养之外，还在于知人善任，安定民心。”

禹说：“唉！都像这样，连尧帝都会认为困难了。理解臣下就显得



The Counsels of Gao-yao^①

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) Gao-yao said, " If (the sovereign) sincerely pursues the course of his virtue, the counsels (offered to him) will be intelligent, and the aids (of admonition that he receives) will be harmonious. "

Yü said, " Yes, but explain yourself. "

Gao-yao said, " Oh ! let him be careful about his personal cultivation, with thoughts that are far-reaching, and thus he will produce a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine branches of his kindred. All the intelligent (also) will exert themselves in his service ; and in this way from what is near he will reach to what is distant. "

Yü did homage to the excellent words, and said, " Yes. "

Gao-yao continued, " Oh ! it lies in knowing men, and giving repose to the people. "

Yü said, " Alas ! to attain to both these things might well be a difficulty even to the emperor. When (the sovereign) knows men, he is wise, and can put every one into the office for which he is fit. When he gives repose to the people, his kindness is felt, and the black-haired race cherish him in their hearts. When he can be

① Gao-yao was Minister of Crime to Shun, and is still celebrated in China as the model for all administrators of justice. There are few or no reliable details of his history. Sima Qian says that Yü, on his accession to the throne, made Gao-yao his chief minister, with the view of his ultimately succeeding him, but that the design was frustrated by Gao-yao's death.



【原文】

惠，黎民怀之。能哲而惠，何忧乎驩兜？何迁乎有苗？何畏乎巧言令色孔壬？”

皋陶曰：“都！亦行有九德。亦言，其人有德，乃言曰，载采采。”

禹曰：“何？”

皋陶曰：“宽而栗，柔而立，愿而恭，乱而敬，扰而毅，直而温，简而廉，刚而塞，强而义。彰厥有常吉哉！”

“日宣三德，夙夜浚明有家；日严祗敬六德，亮采有邦。翕受敷施，九德咸事，俊乂在官。百僚师师，百工惟时，抚于五辰，庶绩其凝。

“无教逸欲，有邦兢兢业业，一日二日万几。无旷庶官，天工，

【今译】

明智，能任人唯贤。安民要有仁爱之心，百姓都会感恩戴德。能做到明智和受人爱戴，怎么会担心驩兜？怎么会流放三苗？怎么会畏惧善于花言巧语、善于作伪的坏人呢？”

皋陶说：“啊！检验人的行为大约有九种美德。检验了言论，如果那个人有德，就告诉他说，可做点工作。”

禹问：“什么叫九德呢？”

皋陶说：“宽宏而又能庄严，柔顺而又卓立，谨厚而又严恭，多才而又敬慎，驯服而又刚毅，正直而又温和，简易而又方正，刚正而又笃实，坚强而又能守道义。天子如能奖励那些德行有常的人，就称善政了！对这九种德行早晚能做到其中三种、六种的，就能治理并保有国家。天子更要能综合此三德、六德之人而普施政教，使备有九德的贤俊之士都能担任王朝职官。百官职司都及时以展事功，在政府五长的领导下，使各种政事都获成功。

“治理国家的人不要贪图安逸和私欲，要兢兢业业，因为情况天



(thus) wise and kind, what occasion will he have for anxiety about a Huan-dou? what to be removing a lord of Miao? what to fear any one of fair words, insinuating appearance, and great artfulness?"

Gao-yao said, "Oh! there are in all nine virtues to be discovered in conduct, and when we say that a man possesses (any) virtue, that is as much as to say he does such and such things."

Yü asked, "What (are the nine virtues)?"

Gao-yao replied, "Affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverent caution; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness combined with gentleness; an easy negligence combined with discrimination; boldness combined with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness. (When these qualities are) displayed, and that continuously, have we not the good (officer)? When there is a daily display of three (of these) virtues, their possessor could early and late regulate and brighten the clan (of which he was made chief). When there is a daily severe and reverent cultivation of six of them, their possessor could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the state (with which he was invested). When (such men) are all received and advanced, the possessors of those nine virtues will be employed in (the public) service. The men of a thousand and men of a hundred will be in their offices; the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper times, observant of the five seasons (as the several elements predominate in them),—and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished. Let (the Son of Heaven) not set to the holders of states the example of indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, (re-



【原文】

人其代之。天叙有典，敕我五典五惇哉！天秩有礼，自我五礼有庸哉！同寅协恭和衷哉！天命有德，五服五章哉！天讨有罪，五刑五用哉！政事懋哉懋哉！

“天聪明，自我民聪明。天明畏，自我民明威。达于上下，敬哉有土！”

皋陶曰：“朕言惠可底行？”

禹曰：“俞！乃言底可绩。”

【今译】

天变化万端。不要虚设百官，上天命定的工作，人应当代替完成。上天规定了人与人之间的常法，要告诫人们用父义、母慈、兄友、弟恭、子孝的办法，把这五者敦厚起来啊！上天规定了人的尊卑等级，推行天子、诸侯、卿大夫、士和庶人这五种礼制，要经常啊！君臣之间要同敬、同恭，和善相处啊！上天任命有德的人，要用天子、诸侯、卿、大夫、士五等礼服表彰这五者啊！上天惩罚有罪的人，要用墨、劓、剕、宫、大辟五种刑罚处治五者啊！政务要努力啊！要努力啊！

“上天嘉命有德之人，制定了多种彩绘的服饰来表彰他们；上天惩罚有罪之人，用甲兵、斧钺、刀锯、钻笮、鞭扑等五种不同用刑方式执行；这样，天意和民意是相通的，要谨慎啊，有国土的君王！”

皋陶问：“我的话可以得到实行吗？”

禹说：“当然！你的话可以得到实行并且获得成功。”



membering that) in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have his various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's; men must act for it!"

"From Heaven are the (social) relationships with their several duties; we are charged with (the enforcement of) those five duties;—and lo! we have the five courses of honourable conduct^①. From Heaven are the (social) distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us come the observances of those five ceremonies^②;—and lo! they appear in regular practice. When (sovereign and ministers show) a common reverence and united respect for these, lo! the moral nature (of the people) is made harmonious. Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous;—are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty;—are there not the five punishments, to be severally used for that purpose? The business of government! —Ought we not to be earnest in it? Ought we not to be earnest in it?

"Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors as our people brightly approve and would awe;—such connexion is there between the upper and lower (worlds). How reverent ought the masters of territories to be!"

Gao-yao said, "My words are in accordance with reason, and may be put in practice."

Yü said, "Yes, your words may be put in practice, and

① The five duties are those belonging to the five relationships, which are the constituents of society;—those between husband and wife, father and son, ruler and subject, elder brother and younger, friend and friend.

② The five ceremonies are here those belonging to the distinctions of rank in connexion with the five constituent relations of society.

【原文】

皋陶曰：“予未有知，思曰赞赞襄哉！”

【今译】

皋陶说：“我并不懂得什么，我想赞扬佐助帝德啊！”



crowned with success. ”

Gao-yao added, “ (As to that) I do not know , but I wish daily to be helpful. May (the government) be perfected ! ”



益 稷

【原文】

帝曰：“来，禹！汝亦昌言。”

禹拜曰：“都！帝，予何言？予思日孜孜。”

皋陶曰：“吁！如何？”

禹曰：“洪水滔天，浩浩怀山襄陵，下民昏垫。予乘四载，随山刊木，暨益奏庶鲜食。予决九川距四海，浚畎浍距川。暨稷播，奏庶艰食鲜食。懋迁有无，化居。烝民乃粒，万邦作乂。”

皋陶曰：“俞！师汝昌言。”

禹曰：“都！帝。慎乃在位。”

帝曰：“俞！”

【今译】

舜帝说：“来吧，禹！你也发表高见吧。”

禹拜谢说：“啊！君王，我说什么呢？我只想每天努力工作罢了。”

皋陶说：“啊！究竟怎么样呢？”

禹说：“大水弥漫接天，浩浩荡荡地包围了山顶，漫没了丘陵，老百姓沉没陷落在洪水里。我乘坐四种运载工具，沿着山路砍削树木作为路标，同伯益一起把新杀的鸟兽肉送给百姓们。我疏通了九州的河流，使它们流到四海，挖深疏通了田间的大水沟，使它们流进大河。同后稷一起播种粮食，把百谷、鸟兽肉送给老百姓，让他们互通有无，调剂余缺。于是，百姓们就安定下来了，各个诸侯国开始得到了治理。”

皋陶说：“好啊！应该学习、借鉴你的良言。”

禹说：“啊！舜帝。你要诚实地对待你的在位的大臣。”

舜帝说：“是啊！”



The Yi and Ji

The Emperor said, "Come Yü, you also must have excellent words (to bring before me)." Yü did obeisance, and said, "Oh! what can I say, O Emperor (after Gao-yao)? I can (only) think of maintaining a daily assiduity." Gao-yao said, "Alas I will you describe it?" Yü replied, "The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the hills and overtopped the great mounds, so that the people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I mounted my four conveyances, and all along the hills hewed down the trees, at the same time, along with Yi, showing the multitudes how to get flesh to eat. I (also) opened passages for the streams (throughout the) nine (provinces), and conducted them to the four seas. I deepened (moreover) the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, sowing (grain), at the same time, along with Ji, and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil, (in addition to) the flesh meat. I urged them (further) to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. (In this way) all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule."

Gao-yao said, "Yes, we ought to model ourselves after your excellent words."

Yü said, "Oh! carefully maintain, O Emperor, the throne which you occupy." The Emperor replied, "Yes;" and Yü went



【原文】

禹曰：“安汝止，惟幾惟康。其弼直，惟动丕应。徯志以昭受上帝，天其申命用休。”

帝曰：“吁！臣哉邻哉！邻哉臣哉！”

禹曰：“俞！”

帝曰：“臣作朕股肱耳目。予欲左右有民，汝翼。予欲宣力四方，汝为。予欲观古人之象，日、月、星辰、山、龙、华虫，作会；宗彝、藻、火、粉米、黼、黻、絺绣，以五采彰施于五色，作服，汝明。予欲闻六律五声八音，在治忽，以出纳五言，汝听。予违，汝弼，汝无面从，退有后言。钦四邻！庶顽谗说，若不在时，侯以明

【今译】

禹说：“要安静你的心意，考虑天下的安危。用正直的人做辅佐，只要你行动，天下就会大力响应。依靠有德的人指导接受上帝的命令，上天就会再三用休美赐予你。”

舜帝说：“唉！靠大臣啊四邻啊！靠四邻啊大臣啊！”

禹说：“对呀！”

舜帝说：“大臣作我的股肱耳目。我想帮助百姓，你辅佐我。我想用力治理好四方，你帮助我。我想显示古人衣服上的图像，用日、月、星辰、山、龙、雉六种图形绘在上衣上；用虎、水、草、火、白米、黑白相间的斧形花纹、黑青相间的“己”字花纹绣在下裳上。用五种颜料明显地做成五种色彩不同的衣服，你要做好。我要听六种乐律、五种声、八类乐器的演奏，从声音的哀乐考察治乱，取舍各方的意见，你要听清。我有过失，你就辅助我。你不要当面顺从，背后又



on, "Find your repose in your (proper) resting-point, attend to the springs of things; study stability; and let your assistants be the upright—then shall your movements be grandly responded to, (as if the people only) waited for your will. Thus you will brightly receive (the favour of) God—will not Heaven renew its appointment of you, and give you blessing?"

The Emperor said, "Alas! what are ministers? —Are they not (my) associates? What are associates? —Are they not (my) ministers?" Yü replied, "Yes."

The Emperor went on, "My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people—you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence (of my government) through the four quarters—you act as my agents. I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients—the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragons, and the flowery fowl (the pheasant), which are depicted (on the upper garment); the temple cups, the pondweed, the flames, the grains of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction, which are embroidered (on the lower Garment)—(I wish to see all these) fully displayed in the five colours, so as to form the (ceremonial) robes—it is yours to see them clearly (for me). I wish to hear the six pitch-tubes, the five notes (determined by them), and the eight kinds of musical instruments (regulated again by these), examining thereby the virtues and defects of government, according as (the odes that) go forth (from the court, set to music), and come in (from the people), are ordered by those five notes—it is yours to hear them (for me). When I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me; do not follow me to my face, and, when you have retired, have other remarks



【原文】

之，挹以记之，书用识哉，欲并生哉！工以纳言，时而扬之，格则承之庸之，否则威之。”

禹曰：“俞哉！帝，光天之下，至于海隅苍生，万邦黎猷，共惟帝臣，惟帝时举。敷纳以言，明庶以功，车服以庸。谁敢不让，敢不敬应？帝不时敷，同，日奏，罔功。

“无若丹朱傲，惟慢游是好，傲虐是作。罔昼夜颺颺，罔水行舟。

【今译】

去议论。要敬重左右辅弼的近臣！至于一些愚蠢而又喜欢谗毁、谄媚的人，如果不能明察做臣的道理，要用射侯之礼明确地教训他们，用鞭打警戒他们，用刑书记录他们的罪过，要让他们共同上进！任用官吏要根据他所进纳的言论，好的就称颂宣扬，正确的就进献上去以便采用，否则就要惩罚他们。”

禹说：“好啊！舜帝，普天之下，至于海内的众民，各国的众贤，都是您的臣子，您要善于举用他们。依据言论广泛地接纳他们，依据工作明确地考察他们，用车马衣服酬劳他们。这样，谁敢不让贤，谁敢不恭敬地接受您的命令？帝不善加分别，好的坏的混同不分，虽然天天进用人，也会劳而无功。

“不要像丹朱那样傲慢的，只喜欢懒惰逸乐，只作戏谑，不论白



to make. Be reverent, ye associates, who are before and behind and on each side of me! As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are found not to be doing what is right, are there not the target to exhibit (their true character)^①, the scourge to make them recollect, and the book of remembrance^②? Do we not wish them to live along with us? There are also the masters (of music) to receive their compositions, (set them to music), and continually publish them (as corrected by themselves). If they become reformed they are to be received and employed; if they do not, let the terrors (of punishment) overtake them. ”

Yü said, “So far good! But let your light shine, O Emperor Shun, all under heaven, even to the grassy shores of the seas, and throughout the myriad states the most worthy of the people will all wish to be your ministers. Then, O Emperor, you may advance them to office. They will set forth and you will receive their reports; you will make proof of them according to their merits; you will confer chariots and robes according to their services. Who would dare not to cultivate a humble virtue? Who would dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O Emperor, do not act thus, all your ministers together will daily decline to a meritless character. ”

“Be not haughty like Zhu of Dan^③, who found his pleasure

① Archery was anciently made much of in China, and supposed to be a test of character. Unworthy men would not be found hitting frequently, and observing the various rules of the exercise. Confucius more than once spoke of archery as a discipline of virtue; see *Analects*, III, xvi.

② In the Official Book of Zhou, the heads of districts are required to keep a register of the characters of the people. Shun's Book of Remembrance would be a record on wood or cloth. The reference implies the use of writing.

③ This was the son of Yao. He must have been made lord of some principality called Dan.



【原文】

朋淫于家，用殄厥世。予创若时，娶于涂山，辛壬癸甲。启呱呱而泣，予弗子，惟荒度土功。弼成五服，至于五千。州十有二师，外薄四海，咸建五长，各迪有功。苗顽弗即功，帝其念哉！”

帝曰：“迪朕德，时乃功，惟叙。皋陶方祗厥叙，方施象刑，惟明。”

夔曰：“戛击鸣球、搏拊、琴、瑟，以咏。”

祖考来格，虞宾在位，群后德让。下管鼗鼓，合止祝敌，笙镛以

【今译】

天晚上都不停止。洪水已经退了，他还要乘船游玩，又成群地在家淫乱，因此不能继承尧的帝位。我为他的这些行为感到悲伤。我娶了涂山氏的女儿，结婚四天就治水去了。后来，启生下来呱呱地啼哭，我顾不上慈爱他，只忙于考虑治理水土的事。我重新划天下为五服的大业，使疆域每方达到五千里，每州又制定了十二师的地方行政区划，从九州到四海边境，每五个诸侯国设立一个长，各诸侯长领导治水工作。只有三苗顽抗，不肯接受工作任务，舜帝您要为这事忧虑啊！”

舜帝说：“宣扬我们的德教，全是你的功劳。皋陶现认真地奖叙有功的人，而对有罪的人则施以严明的象刑，使之改过自新。三苗的事应当会办好。”

夔说：“敲起玉磬，打起搏拊，弹起琴瑟，唱起歌来吧。”

先祖、先父的灵魂降临了，我们舜帝的宾客就位了，各个诸侯国君登上了庙堂互相揖让。庙堂下吹起管乐，打着小鼓，合乐敲着祝，止乐敲着敌，笙和大钟交替演奏，扮演飞禽走兽的舞队踏着节奏跳



only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppressive course. Day and night without ceasing he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the prosperity of his house to an end. I took warning from his course. When I married in Tu-shan, (I remained with my wife only the days) xin, ren, gui, and jia. When (my son) Qi was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land. (Then) I assisted in completing the five Tenures, extending over 5,000 li^①; (in appointing) in the provinces twelve Tutors, and in establishing in the regions beyond, reaching to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path, and are meritorious; but there are still (the people of) Miao, who obstinately refuse to render their service. Think of this, O Emperor. ” The Emperor said, “That my virtue is followed is the result of your meritorious services so orderly displayed. And now Gao-yao, entering respectfully into your arrangements, is on every hand displaying the (various) punishments, as represented, with entire intelligence. ”

Kui said, “When the sounding-stone is tapped or struck with force, and the lutes are strongly swept or gently touched, to accompany the singing, the progenitors (of the Emperor) come (to the service), the guest of Yü is in his place, and all the princes show their virtue in giving place to one another. (In the court) below (the hall) there are the flutes and hand-drums, which join in at the sound of the rattle, and cease at that of the stopper, when the

① The li is what is called the Chinese mile, generally reckoned to be 360 paces.



【原文】

间。鸟兽跚跚，《箫韶》九成，凤皇来仪。

夔曰：“於！予击石拊石，百兽率舞，庶尹允谐。”

帝庸作歌。曰：“敕天之命，惟时惟几。”乃歌曰：“股肱喜哉！元首起哉！百工熙哉！”

皋陶拜手稽首颺言曰：“念哉！率作兴事，慎乃宪，钦哉！屡省乃成，钦哉！”乃赓载歌曰：“元首明哉！股肱良哉！庶事康哉！”又歌曰：“元首丛脞哉！股肱惰哉！万事堕哉！”

帝拜曰：“俞，往钦哉！”

【今译】

舞，《韶乐》演奏了九次以后，扮演凤凰的舞队出来表演了。

夔说：“唉！我轻敲重击着石磬，扮演百兽的舞队都跳起舞来，各位官长也合着乐曲一同跳起来吧！”

舜帝因此作歌。说：“勤劳天命，这样子就差不多了。”于是唱道：“大臣欢悦啊，君王奋发啊，百事发达啊！”

皋陶跪拜叩头接着说：“要念念不忘啊！统率起兴办的事业，慎守你的法度，要认真啊！经常考察你的成就，要认真啊！”于是又接着唱道：“君王英明啊！大臣贤良啊！诸事安康啊！”又继续作歌说：“君王琐碎啊！大臣懈怠啊！诸事荒废啊！”

舜帝拜谢说：“对啊！我们去认真干吧！”



organ and bells take their place. (This makes) birds and beasts fall moving. When the nine parts of the service, as arranged by the Emperor, have all been performed, the male and female phoenix come with their measured gambolings (into the court). ” Kui said, “ Oh ! when I smite the (sounding -) stone, or gently strike it, the various animals lead on one another to dance, and all the chiefs of the official departments become truly harmonious. ”

The Emperor on this made a song, saying, “ We must deal cautiously with the favouring appointment of Heaven, at every moment and in the smallest particular. ” He then sang.

“ When the members (work) joyfully,
The head rises (grandly) ;
And the duties of all the offices are fully discharged ! ”

Gao-yao did obeisance with his head to his hands and then to the ground, and with a loud and rapid voice said, “ Think (O Emperor). It is you to lead on and originate things. Pay careful attention to your laws (in doing so). Be reverential ! and often examine what has been accomplished (by your officers). Be reverential ! ” With this he continued the song,

“ When the head is intelligent,
The members are good ;
And all affairs will be happily performed ! ”
Again he continued the song,
“ When the head is vexatious,
The members are idle ;
And all affairs will go to ruin ! ”

The Emperor said, “ Yes, go and be reverently (attentive to your duties). ”

禹 贡

【原文】

1.1 禹敷土，随山刊木，奠高山大川。

冀州：既载壶口，治梁及岐。既修太原，至于岳阳。覃怀底绩，至于衡漳。厥土惟白壤，厥赋惟上上，错，厥田惟中中。恒、卫既从，大陆既作。鸟夷皮服，夹右碣石入于河。

1.2 济、河惟兗州：九河既道，雷夏既泽，濰、沮会同。桑土

【今译】

1.1 禹分别土地的疆界，行走高山砍削树木作为路标，以高山大河奠定界域。

冀州：从壶口开始施工以后，就治理梁山和岐山。太原治理好了以后，又治理到太岳山的南面。覃怀一带的治理取得了成效，又到了横流入河的漳水。这州的土是白壤，赋税是第一等，也夹杂着第二等，这里的田地是第五等。恒水、卫水已经顺着河道而流，大陆泽也已治理了。鸟夷的人用皮服来进贡，先接近右边的碣石山，再进入黄河。

1.2 济水与黄河之间是兗州：黄河下游的九条支流疏通了，雷





The Tribute of Yü^①

Yü divided the land. Following the course of the hills, he cut down the trees. He determined the highest hills and largest rivers (in the several regions).

With respect to Ji Zhou, he did his work at Hu-kou, and took effective measures at (the mountains) Liang and Qi. Having repaired the works on Tai-Yuan, he proceeded on to the south of (mount) Yue. He was successful with his labours on Tan-huai, and went on to the cross-flowing stream of Zhang. The soil of this province was whitish and mellow. Its contribution of revenue was the highest of the highest class, with some proportion of the second. Its fields were the average of the middle class. The (waters of the) Heng and Wei were brought to their proper channels, and Da-lu was made capable of cultivation. The wild people of the islands (brought) dresses of skins (i. e. fur dresses); keeping close on the right to the rocks of Jie, they entered Huanghe River.

Between the Ji and Huanghe River was Yan Zhou. The nine branches of Huanghe River were made to keep their proper chan-

① Xia is the dynastic designation under which Yü and his descendants held the throne for 439 years (B. C. 2205—1767 B. C.). On conclusion of his labours, according to what was the universally accepted tradition in the Zhou period, Yü was appointed by Yao to be earl of Xia, a small principality in He-nan, identified with the present Yü-zhou, department Kai-feng, which thus still retains the name of Yü. It has been repeatedly said in the "Introduction" that "The Tribute of Yü" describes what was done before the death of Yao.



【原文】

既蚕，是降丘宅土。厥土黑坟，厥草惟繇，厥木惟条。厥土惟中下，厥赋贞，作十有三载乃同。厥贡漆丝，厥篚织文。浮于济、漯，达于河。

1.3 海、岱惟青州：嵎夷既略，潍、淄其道。厥土白坟，海滨广斥。厥田惟上下，厥赋中上。厥贡盐、絺，海物惟错。岱畎丝、枲、铅、松、怪石。莱夷作牧。厥篚絜丝。浮于汶，达于济。

1.4 海、岱及淮惟徐州：淮、沂其乂，蒙、羽其艺，大野既猪，

【今译】

夏也已经成了湖泽，濰水和沮水会合流进了雷夏泽。栽种桑树的地方都已经养蚕，于是人们从山丘上搬下来住在平地上。这里的土质又黑又肥，这里的草是茂盛的，这里的树是修长的。这里的田地是第六等，赋税是第九等，耕作了十三年才与其他八个州相同。这里的贡物是漆和丝，还有用竹筐装着的彩绸。进贡的物品从济水、漯水乘船到黄河。

1.3 渤海和泰山之间是青州：嵎夷治理好以后，濰水和淄水也已经疏通了。这里的土又白又肥，海边有一片广大的盐碱地。这里的田是第三等，赋税是第四等。这里进贡的物品是盐和细葛布，海产品多种多样。还有泰山谷的丝、大麻、铅、松和奇特的石头。莱夷一带可以放牧。这里进贡的物品是用筐装的柞蚕丝。进贡的船只从汶水通到济水。

1.4 黄海、泰山及淮河之间是徐州：淮河、沂水治理好以后，蒙山、羽山一带已经可以种植了，大野泽已经停聚着深水，东原地方



nels. Lei-xia was made a marsh, in which (the waters of) the Yong and the Ju were united. The mulberry grounds were made fit for silkworms, and then (the people) came down from the heights, and occupied the grounds (below). The soil of this province was blackish and rich; the grass in it was luxuriant, and the trees grew high. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its contribution of revenue was fixed at what would just be deemed the correct amount; but it was not required from it, as from the other provinces, till after it had been cultivated for thirteen years. Its articles of tribute were varnish and silk, and, in baskets, woven ornamental fabrics. They floated along the Ji and Ta, and so reached Huanghe River.

The sea and (mount) Dai were the boundaries of Qing Zhou. (The territory of) Yü-yi was defined; and the Wei and Zi were made to keep their (old) channels. Its soil was whitish and rich. Along the shore of the sea were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second. Its articles of tribute were salt, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, productions of the sea of various kinds; with silk, hemp, lead, pine trees, and strange stones, from the valleys of Dai. The wild people of Lai were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry tree. They floated along the Wen, and so reached the Ji.

The sea, mount Tai, and the Huai were (the boundaries of) Xu Zhou. The Huai and the Yi (rivers) were regulated. The (hills) Meng and Yü were made fit for cultivation. (The waters of) Da-ye were confined (so as to form a marsh); and (the tract of) Dong-Yuan was successfully brought under management. The soil of this



【原文】

东原底平。厥土赤埴坟，草木渐包。厥田惟上中，厥赋中中。厥贡惟土五色，羽畎夏翟，峰阳孤桐，泗滨浮磬，淮夷蜃珠暨鱼。厥筐玄纁缟。浮于淮、泗，达于河。

1.5 淮、海惟扬州：彭蠡既猪，阳鸟攸居。三江既入，震泽底定。箴簋既敷，厥草惟夭，厥木惟乔。厥土惟涂泥。厥田惟下下，厥赋下上，上错。厥贡惟金三品，瑶、琨、箴、簋、齿、革、羽、毛惟木。岛夷卉服。厥筐织贝，厥包橘柚，锡贡。沿于江、海，达于淮、泗。

1.6 荆及衡阳惟荆州：江、汉朝宗于海，九江孔殷，沱、潜既

【今译】

也获得治理。这里的土是红色的，又粘又肥，草木不断滋长而丛生。这里的田是第二等，赋税是第五等。进贡的物品是五色土，羽山山谷的大山鸡，峰山南面的特产桐木，泗水边上的可以做磬的石头，淮夷之地的蚌珠和鱼。还有用筐子装着的黑色的细绸和白色的绢。进贡的船只从淮河、泗水，到达与济水相通的菏泽。

1.5 淮河与黄海之间是扬州：彭蠡泽已经汇集了许多条水流，作为每年雁阵南飞过冬的休息地。三条江水已经流入大海，震泽也获得了安定。小竹和大竹已经遍布各地，这里的草很茂盛，这里的树很高大。这里的土是潮湿的泥。田是第九等，赋是第七等，杂出第六等。进贡的物品是金、银、铜、美玉、美石、小竹、大竹、象牙、犀皮、鸟的羽毛、旄牛尾和木材。东南沿海各岛的人穿着草编的衣服。这一带把贝锦放在筐子里，把橘柚包起来作为贡品。这些贡品沿着长江、黄海到达淮河、泗水。

1.6 荆山与衡山的南面是荆州：长江、汉水像诸侯朝见天子一



province was red, clayey, and rich. Its grass and trees grew more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the second. Its articles of tribute were: earth of five different colours, variegated pheasants from the valleys of mount Yü, the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yi, and the sounding-stones that (seemed to) float on the (banks of the) Si. The wild tribes about the Huai brought oyster-pearls and fish, and their baskets full of deep azure and other silk-en fabrics, chequered and pure white. They floated along the Huai and the Si, and so reached Huanghe River.

The Huai and the sea formed (the boundaries of) Yang Zhou. The (lake of) Peng-li was confined to its proper limits, and the sun-birds (the wild geese) had places to settle on. The three rivers were led to enter the sea, and it became possible to still the marsh of Zhen. The bamboos, small and large, then spread about; the grass grew thin and long, and the trees rose high; the soil was miry. The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above. Its articles of tribute were gold, silver, and copper; yao and kun stones; bamboos, small and large; (elephants') teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass, with silks woven in shell-patterns in their baskets. Their bundles contained small oranges and pummeloes, rendered when specially required. They followed the course of Changjiang River and the sea, and so reached the Huai and the Si.

(Mount) Jing and the south of (mount) Heng formed (the boundaries of) Jing Zhou. Changjiang River and Hanshui River



【原文】

道，云土、梦作义。厥土惟涂泥，厥田惟下中，厥赋上下。厥贡羽、毛、齿、革惟金三品，杔、榦、栝、柏，斲、砥、斲、丹惟箛簞、桔。三邦底贡厥名，包匭菁茅，厥筐玄纁玃组，九江纳锡大龟。浮于江、沱、潜、汉，逾于洛，至于南河。

1.7 荆、河惟豫州：伊、洛、瀍涧既入于河，滎波既猪。导菏泽，被孟猪。厥土惟壤，下土坟垆。厥田惟中上，厥赋错上中。厥贡

【今译】

样奔向海洋，云梦泽的水系大定了，沱水、潜水疏通以后，云梦泽一带可以耕作了。这里的土是潮湿的泥，这里的田是第八等，赋是第三等。这里的贡物是羽毛、旄牛尾、象牙、犀皮和金、银、铜，椿树、柘树、桧树、柏树，粗磨石、细磨石、造箭簇的石头、丹砂和细长的竹子、楛木。三个诸侯国进贡他们的名产，包裹好了的杨梅、菁茅，装在筐子里的彩色丝绸和一串串的珍珠。九江进贡大龟。这些贡品从长江、沱水、潜水、汉水到达汉水上游，改走陆路到洛水，再到南河。

1.7 荆山、黄河之间是豫州：伊水、瀍水和涧水都已流入洛水，又流入黄河，滎波泽已经停聚了大量的积水。疏通了菏泽，并在孟猪泽筑起了堤防。这里的土是柔软的壤土，低地的土是肥沃的黑色硬土。这里的田是第四等，赋税是第二等，杂出第一等。这里的贡物是



pursued their (common) course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court. The nine rivers were brought into complete order. The Tuo and Qian (streams) were conducted by their proper channels. The land in (the marsh of) Yun (became visible), and (the marsh of) Meng was made capable of cultivation. The soil of this province was miry. Its fields were the average of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, (elephants') teeth, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; chun trees, wood for bows, cedars, and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, flint stones to make arrowheads, and cinnabar; and the quivers, with the hu tree (good for making arrows)—of which the Three Regions were able to contribute the best specimens. The three-ribbed rush was sent in bundles, put into cases. The baskets were filled with silken fabrics, azure and deep purple, and with strings of pearls that were not quite round. From the (country of the) nine rivers, the great tortoise was presented when specially required (and found). They floated down Changjiang River, the Tuo, the Qian, and Hanshui River, and crossed (the country) to the Luo, whence they reached the Nanhe River.

The Jing (mountain) and Huanghe River were (the boundaries of) Yü Zhou. The Yi, the Luo, the Chan, and the Jian were conducted to Huanghe River. The (marsh of) Yingbo was confined within its proper limits. The (waters of that of) Ge were led to (the marsh of) Meng-zhu. The soil of this province was mellow; in the lower parts it was (in some places) rich, and (in others) dark and thin. Its fields were the highest of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the highest class, with a proportion



【原文】

漆、枲、絺、纴，厥筐纤、纴，锡贡磬错。浮于洛，达于河。

1.8 华阳、黑水惟梁州：岷、嶓既艺，沱、潜既道。蔡、蒙旅平，和夷底绩。厥土青黎，厥田惟下上，厥赋下中、三错。厥贡璆、铁、银、镂、簠、磬、熊、罴、狐、狸。织皮、西倾因桓是来。浮于潜，逾于沔，入于渭，乱于河。

1.9 黑水、西河惟雍州：弱水既西，泾属渭汭，漆沮既从，沔水攸同。荆、岐既旅，终南、惇物，至于鸟鼠。原隰底绩，至于猪

【今译】

漆、麻、细葛、纴麻，用筐装的绸和细绵，又进贡治玉磬的石头。进贡的船只从洛水到达黄河。

1.8 华山南部到黑水之间是梁州：岷山、嶓冢山治理以后，沱水、潜水也已经疏通了。峨嵋山、蒙山治理后，和夷一带也取得了治理的功效。这里的土是疏松的黑土，这里的田是第七等，赋税是第八等，还杂出第七等和第九等。这里的贡物是美玉、铁、银、钢铁、作箭镞的石头、磬，以及熊、马熊、狐狸等用以制作衣裘的兽皮和西倾山的贡物沿着桓水而来。进贡的船只行于潜水，然后离船上岸陆行，再进入沔水，进到渭水，最后横渡渭水到达黄河。

1.9 黑水到西河之间是雍州：弱水疏通已向西流，泾河流入渭河之湾，漆沮水已经会合洛水流入黄河，沔水也向北流同渭河会合。荆山、岐山治理以后，终南山、惇物山一直到鸟鼠山都得到了治理。



of the very highest. Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and the boehmerea. The baskets were full of chequered silks, and of fine floss silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered when required. They floated along the Luo, and so reached Huanghe River.

The south of (mount) Hua and the Blackwater, were (the boundaries of) Liang Zhou. The (hills) Min and Bo were made capable of cultivation. The Tuo and Qian streams were conducted by their proper channels. Sacrifices were offered to (the hills) Cai and Meng on the regulation (of the country about them). (The country of) the wild tribes about the Eshui River was successfully operated on. The soil of this province was greenish and light. Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates immediately above and below. Its articles of tribute were—the best gold, iron, silver, steel, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and sounding-stones; with the skins of bears, foxes, and jackals, and (nets) woven of their hair. From (the hill of) Xi-qing they came by the course of the Huan; floated along the Qian, and then crossed (the country) to the Mian; passed to the Wei, and (finally) ferried across Huanghe River.

The Black-water and western Huanghe River were (the boundaries of) Yong Zhou. The Weak-water was conducted westwards. The Jing was led to mingle its waters with those of the Wei. The Qi and the Zhu were next led in a similar way (to the Wei), and the waters of the Feng found the same receptacle. (The mountains) Jing and Qi were sacrificed to. (Those of) Zhong-nan and Dun-wu (were also regulated), and (all the way) on to Niao-



【原文】

野。三危既宅，三苗丕叙。厥土惟黄壤，厥田惟上上，厥赋中下。厥贡惟球、琳、琅玕。浮于积石，至于龙门、西河，会于渭汭。织皮昆仑、析支、渠搜，西戎即叙。

2.1 导岍及岐，至于荆山，逾于河。壶口、雷首至于太岳。底柱、析城至于王屋。太行、恒山至于碣石，入于海。

西倾、朱圉、鸟鼠至于太华。熊耳、外方、桐柏至于陪尾。

导嶓冢至于荆山。内方至于大别。岷山之阳至于衡山，过九江至于敷浅原。

2.2 导弱水至于合黎，余波入于流沙。导黑水至于三危，入于

【今译】

原隰的治理取得了成绩，至于猪野泽也得到了治理。三危山已经可以居住，三苗就安定了。这里的土是黄色的，这里的田是第一等，赋税是第六等。这里的贡物是美玉、美石和珠宝。进贡的船只从积石山附近的黄河，到达龙门、西河，与从渭河逆流而上的船只合在渭河以北。织皮的人民定居在昆仑、析支、渠搜三座山下，西戎各族就安定顺从了。

2.1 开通了岍山和岐山的道路，到达荆山，越过黄河。又开通壶口山、雷首山，到达太岳山。又开通底柱山、析城山，到达王屋山。又开通太行山、恒山，到达碣石山，从这里进入渤海。

开通西倾山、朱圉山、鸟鼠山，到达太华山。又开通熊耳山、外方山、桐柏山，到达陪尾山。

开通嶓冢山到达荆山。开通内方山到达大别山。开通岷山的南面到达衡山，接着过九江到达庐山。

2.2 疏通弱水到合黎山，下游流到沙漠。疏通黑水到三危山，



shu. Successful measures could now be taken with the plains and swamps, even to (the marsh of) Zhu-ye. (The country of) San-wei was made habitable, and the (affairs of the) people of San-miao were greatly arranged. The soil of the province was yellow and mellow. Its fields were the highest of the highest class, and its contribution of revenue the lowest of the second. Its articles of tribute were the qiu and lin gem-stones, and the lang-gan precious stones. Past Ji-shi they floated on to Long-men on the western Huanghe River. They then met on the north of the Wei (with the tribute-bearers from other quarters). Hair-cloth and skins (were brought from) Kun-lun, Xi-zhi, and Qu-sou; the wild tribes of the West (all) coming to (submit to Yü's) arrangements.

(Yü) surveyed and described (the hills), beginning with Qian and Qi, and proceeding to mount Jing; then, crossing Huanghe River, Hu-kou, and Lei-shou, going on to Tai-yue. (After these came) Di-zhu and Xi-cheng, from which he went on to Wang-wu; (then there were) Tai-hang and Mount Heng, from which he proceeded to the rocks of Jie, where he reached the sea.

(South of Huanghe River, he surveyed) Xi-qing, Zhu-yu, and Niao-shu, going on to Tai-hua; (then) Xiong-er, Wai-fang, and Tong-bai, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.

He surveyed and described Bo-zhong, going on to (the other) mount Jing; and Nei-fang, from which he went on to Mount Dabie.

(He did the same with) the south of Mount Min, and went on Mount Heng. Then crossing the nine rivers, he proceeded to the plain of Fu-qian.

He dredged the Weak-water as far as the He-li (mountains),



【原文】

南海。导河积石，至于龙门；南至于华阴；东至于底柱；又东至于孟津；东过洛纳，至于大伾；北过降水，至于大陆；又北，播为九河，同为逆河，入于海。

嶓冢导漾，东流为汉；又东，为沧浪之水；过三澨，至于大别，南入于江。东，汇泽为彭蠡；东，为北江，入于海。

岷山导江，东别为沱；又东至于澧；过九江，至于东陵；东迤北，会于汇；东为中江，入于海。

导沅水，东流为济，入于河，溢为荥；东出于陶丘北，又东至于

【今译】

流入南海。疏导黄河，从积石山开始，到达龙门山；再向南到达华山的北面；再向东到达底柱山；又向东到达孟津；又向东经过洛水与黄河会合的地方，到达大伾山；然后向北经过降水，到达大陆泽；又向北，分成九条支流，再会合成一条逆河，流进大海。

从嶓冢山开始疏导漾水，向东流成为汉水；又向东流，成为沧浪水；经过三澨水，到达大别山，向南流进长江。向东，来汇的水叫彭蠡泽；向东，称为北江，流进大海。

从岷山开始疏导长江，向东另外分出一条支流称为沱江；又向东到达澧水；经过洞庭湖，到达东陵；再向东斜行向北，会于彭蠡泽；向东称为中江，流进大海。

疏导沅水，向东流就称为济水，流入黄河，河水溢出成为荥泽；又从定陶的北面向东流，再向东到达菏泽；又向东北，与汶水会合；



from which its superfluous waters went away among the moving sands.

He dredged the Black-water as far as San-wei, from which it (went away to) enter the southern sea.

He dredged Huanghe River from Ji-shi as far as Long-men; and thence, southwards, to the north of (mount) Hua; eastward then to Di-zhu; eastward (again) to the ford of Meng; eastward (still) to the junction of the Luo; and then on to Da-pi. (From this the course was) northwards, past the Jiang Shui River, on to Da-lu; north from which the river was divided, and became the nine rivers, which united again, and formed a river, at last if flowed to the sea.

The water of Yang was dredged from Bo-zhong Hill, which, flowing eastwards, became the Hanshui River. Farther east it became the water of Cang-lang; and after passing the three dykes, it went on to Da-bie Hill, southwards from which it entered Changjiang River. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of Peng-li; and from that its eastern flow was the Beijiang River, as which it entered the sea.

From Mount Min he dredged Changjiang River, which, branching off to the east, formed the Tuo; eastward again, it reached the Li, passed the nine rivers, and went on to Dong-ling; then flowing east, and winding to the north, it joined (the Han) with its eddying movements. From that its eastern flow was Zhongjiang River, as which it entered the sea.

He dredged the Yan water, which, flowing eastward, became the Ji, and entered the Huanghe River. (Thereafter) it flowed out, and became the Ying (marsh). Eastward, it issued forth on the



【原文】

荷；又东北，会于汶；又北东，入于海。

导淮自桐柏，东会于泗、沂，东入于海。

导渭自鸟鼠同穴，东会于沔，又东会于泾；又东过漆沮，入于河。

导洛自熊耳，东北，会于涧、瀍；又东，会于伊；又东北，入于河。

3. 九州攸同：四隩既宅，九山刊旅，九川涤源，九泽既陂，四海会同。六府孔修，庶土交正，底慎财赋，咸则三壤成赋。中邦锡土、姓，祗台德先，不距朕行。

五百里甸服。百里赋纳总，二百里纳铨，三百里纳秸服，四百里

【今译】

再向北，转向东，流进大海。

从桐柏山开始疏导淮河，向东与泗水、沂水会合，向东流进大海。

从鸟鼠同穴山开始疏导渭水，向东与沔水会合，又向东与泾水会合；又向东经过漆沮水，流入黄河。

从熊耳山开始疏导洛水，向东北，与涧水、瀍水会合；又向东，与伊水会合；又向东北，流入黄河。

3. 九州由此统一了：四方的土地都已经可以居住了，九条山脉都伐木修路可以通行，九条河流都疏通了水源，九个湖泽都修筑了堤防，四海之内进贡的道路都畅通无阻了。水火金木土谷六府都治理得很好，各处的土地都要征收赋税，并且规定慎重征取财物赋税，都要根据土地的上中下三等来确定它。中央之国赏赐土地和姓氏给诸侯，敬重以德行为先，又不违抗我的措施的贤人。

国都以外五百里叫做甸服。离国都最近的一百里缴纳连秆的禾；



north of Tao-qiu, and flowed farther east to (the marsh of) Ge; then it went north-east, and united with the Wen; thence it went north, and (finally) entered the sea on the east.

He dredged the Huai from the hill of Tong-bai. Flowing east, it united with the Si and the Yi, and (still) with an eastward course entered the sea.

He dredged the Wei from (the hill) Niao-shu. Flowing eastward, it united with the Feng, and eastwards again with the Jing. Farther east still, it passed the Qi and the Ju, and entered Huanghe River.

He traced the Luo from (the hill) Xiong-er. Flowing to the north-east, it united with the Jian and the Chan, and eastwards still with the Yi. Then on the north-east it entered Huanghe River.

(Thus), throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effected;—the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to; the sources of the rivers were cleared; the marshes were well banked; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas. The six magazines (of material wealth) were fully attended to; the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. (The fields) were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle Region were established. He conferred lands and surnames. (He said,) "Let me set the example of a reverent attention to my virtue, and none will act contrary to my conduct."

Five hundred li formed the Domain of the Sovereign. From



【原文】

粟，五百里米。

五百里侯服。百里采，二百里男邦，三百里诸侯。

五百里绥服。三百里揆文教，二百里奋武卫。

五百里要服。三百里夷，二百里蔡。

五百里荒服。三百里蛮，二百里流。

东渐于海，西被于流沙，朔南暨声教讫于四海。

禹锡玄圭，告厥成功。

【今译】

二百里的，缴纳禾穗；三百里的，缴纳带稃的谷；四百里的，缴纳粗米；五百里的缴纳精米。

甸服以外五百里是侯服。离甸服最近的一百里替天子服差役；二百里的，为男爵地；三百里的，封诸侯。

侯服以外五百里是绥服。三百里的，考虑推行天子的政教；二百里的，奋扬武威保卫天子。

要服以外五百里是要服。三百里的，要逐步改变风俗；二百里的，可以自由迁徙。

要服以外五百里是荒服。内三百里的，维持隶属关系；外二百里的，无需贡纳。

东方进至大海，西方到达沙漠，北方、南方连同声教都到达极远的地方。华夏的声威教化遍及四海九州。

于是禹被赐给玄色的美玉，表示大功告成了。



the first hundred they brought as revenue the whole plant of the grain; from the second, the ears, with a portion of the stalk; from the third, the straw, but the people had to perform various services; from the fourth, the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned.

Five hundred li (beyond) constituted the Domain of the Nobles. The first hundred li was occupied by the cities and lands of the (sovereign's) high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the barons; and the (other) three hundred, by the various other princes.

Five hundred li (still beyond) formed the Peace-securing Domain. In the first three hundred, they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other two, they showed the energies of war and defence.

Five hundred li (remoter still) formed the Domain of Restraint. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Yi; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment.

Five hundred li (the remotest) constituted the Wild Domain. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Man; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

On the east, reaching to the sea; on the west, extending to the moving sands; to the utmost limits of the north and south his fame and influence filled up (all within) the four seas. Yü presented the dark-coloured symbol of his rank, and announced the completion of his work.

甘 誓

【原文】

1. 大战于甘，乃召六卿。王曰：“嗟！六事之人，予誓告汝：有扈氏威侮五行，怠弃三正，天用剿绝其命，今予惟恭行天之罚。

2. “左不攻于左，汝不恭命；右不攻于右，汝不恭命；御非其马

【今译】

1. 将在甘这个地方进行大战，夏王启就召见了六军的将领。王说：“啊！六军的将士们，我告诫你们：有扈氏轻慢天命，废弃正德、利用、厚生三大政事，因此，上天要断绝他的国运。现在我只有奉行上天对他的惩罚。

2. “车左的兵士不善于射箭，你们就是不奉行我的命令；车右的兵士不善于用戈矛刺杀，你们也是不奉行我的命令；驾车的兵士违反





The Speech at Gan

There was a great battle at Gan. (Previous to it), the king called together the six nobles, (the leaders of his six hosts); and said, "Ah! all ye who are engaged in my six hosts, I have a solemn announcement to make to you. The lord of Hu wildly wastes and despises the five elements (that regulate the seasons), and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year^①. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end his appointment (to Hu); and I am now reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven.

"If you, (the archers) on the left, do not do your work on the left, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, (the spearmen) on the right, do not do your work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers^②, do not observe the rules for the management of your horses, it will be a disregard of my orders.

① The crimes of the lord of Hu are here very obscurely stated. With regard to the second of them, we know that Xia commenced its year with the first month of spring, Shang a month earlier, and Zhou about mid-winter. It was understood that every dynasty should fix a new month for the beginning of the year, and the dynasty of Qin actually carried its first month back into our November. If the lord of Hu claimed to begin the year with other months than that which Yü had founded, he was refusing submission to the new dynasty. No doubt, the object of the expedition was to put down a dangerous rival.

② The chariots were the principal part of an ancient Chinese army; it is long before we read of cavalry. A war-chariot generally carried three. The driver was in the centre; on his left was an archer, and a spearman occupied the place on his right. They all wore mail.



【原文】

之正，汝不恭命。用命，赏于祖；弗用命，戮于社，予则孥戮汝。”

【今译】

驭马的规则，你们也是不奉行我的命令。服从命令的，我会在先祖的神位面前赏赐你们；不服从命令的，我会在社神的神位面前惩罚你们，我就会把你们降为奴隶，或者杀掉你们。”

You who obey my orders, shall be rewarded before (the spirits of) my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders, shall be put to death before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will also put to death your children. ”





五子之歌（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 太康尸位，以逸豫灭厥德，黎民咸贰。乃盘游无度，畋于有洛之表，十旬弗反。有穷后羿因民弗忍，距于河。厥弟五人御其母以从，谄于洛之汭。五子咸怨，述大禹之戒以作歌。

2. 其一曰：“皇祖有训，民可近，不可下。民惟邦本，本固邦宁。

【今译】

1. 太康处在尊位而不理事，又喜好安乐，丧失君德，众民都怀着二心；竟至盘乐游猎没有节制，到洛水的南面打猎，百天还不回来。有穷国的君主羿，因人民不能忍受，在河北抵御太康，不让他回国。太康的弟弟五人，侍奉他们的母亲跟随太康，在洛水湾等待他。这时五人都埋怨太康，因此叙述大禹的教导而写了几首歌。

2. 其中一首说：“伟大的祖先曾有明训，人民可以亲近而不可看轻；人民是国家的根本，根本牢固，国家就安宁。我看天下的人，愚



The Songs of the Five Sons

Tai Kang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead^①. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any self-restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Luo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. (On this) Yi, the prince of Qiong, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted (his return) on (the south of) the Huanghe River. The (king's) five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Luo; and (when they heard of Yi's movement), all full of dissatisfaction, they related the cautions of the Great Yü in the form of songs.

The first said,

"It was the lesson of our great ancestor:—

The people should be cherished,

And not looked down upon.

The people are the root of a country;

The root firm, the country is tranquil.

① The character that here as a verb governs the character signifying "throne" means properly "a corpse", and is often used for the personator of the dead, in the sacrificial services to the dead which formed a large part of the religious ceremonies of the ancient Chinese. A common definition of it is "the semblance of the spirit",—the image into which the spirit entered. Tai Kang was but a personator on the throne, no better than a sham sovereign.



【原文】

予视天下，愚夫愚妇一能胜予。一人三失，怨岂在明？不见是图。予临兆民，懍乎若朽索之馭六马；为人上者，奈何不敬？”

3、其二曰：“训有之，内作色荒，外作禽荒，甘酒嗜音，峻宇雕墙。有一于此，未或不亡。”

4、其三曰：“惟彼陶唐，有此冀方。今失厥道，乱其纪纲。乃底灭亡。”

【今译】

夫愚妇都能胜过我们。一人多次失误，考察民怨难道要等它显明？应当考察它还未形成之时。我治理兆民，恐惧得像用朽绳索驾着六匹马；做君主的人怎么能对人民不敬不怕？”

3、其中第二首说：“祖宗的教诲这样昭彰，可你在内迷恋女色，在外游猎翱翔；喜欢喝酒和爱听音乐，高高建筑大殿又雕饰宫墙。这些事只要有一桩，就没有人不灭亡。”

4、其中第三首说：“那陶唐氏的尧皇帝，曾经据有冀州这地方。现在废弃他的治道，紊乱他的政纲，就是自己导致灭亡！”



When I look at all under heaven,
Of the simple men and simple women,
Any one may surpass me.
If the One man err repeatedly,
Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears?
Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.
In my dealing with the millions of the people,
I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving six horses
with rotten reins.

The ruler of men—

How should he be but reverent (of his duties)?"

The second said,

"It is in the Lessons:—

When the palace is a wild of lust,

And the country is a wild for hunting;

When spirits are liked, and music is the delight;

When there are lofty roofs and carved walls;—

The existence of any one of these things

Has never been but the prelude to ruin."

The third said,

"There was the lord of Tao and Tang,

Who possessed this region of Ji^①.

Now we have fallen from his ways,

And thrown into confusion his rules and laws;—

The consequence is extinction and ruin."

① The lord of Tao and Tang is Yao, who was lord of the principalities of Tao and Tang, but of which first and which last is uncertain, before his accession to the throne. Ji is the Ji Zhou in The Tribute of Yü.



【原文】

5. 其四曰：“明明我祖，万邦之君。有典有则，贻厥子孙。关石和钧，王府则有。荒坠厥绪，覆宗绝祀。”

6. 其五曰：“呜呼曷归？予怀之悲。万姓仇予，予将畴依？郁陶乎予心，颜厚有忸怩。弗慎厥德，虽悔可追？”

【今译】

5. 其中第四首说：“我的辉煌的祖父，是万国的大君。有典章有法度，传给他的子孙。征赋和计量平均，王家府库丰殷。现在废弃他的传统，就断绝祭祀又危及宗亲！”

6. 其中第五首说：“唉！哪里可以回归？我的心情伤悲！万姓都仇恨我们，我们将依靠谁？我的心思郁闷，我的颜面惭愧。不愿慎行祖德，即使改悔又岂可挽回？”



The fourth said,
“Brightly intelligent was our ancestor,
Sovereign of the myriad regions.
He had canons, he had patterns,
Which he transmitted to his posterity.
The standard stone and the equalizing quarter
Were in the royal treasury.
Wildly have we dropt the clue he gave us,
Overturning our temple, and extinguishing our sacrifices.”
The fifth said,
“Oh! whither shall we turn?
The thoughts in my breast make me sad
All the people are hostile to us;
On whom can we rely?
Anxieties crowd together in our hearts;
Thick as are our faces, they are covered with blushes.
We have not been careful of our virtue;
And though we repent, we cannot overtake the past.”



胤 征（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 惟仲康肇位四海，胤侯命掌六师。羲和废厥职，酒荒于厥邑。胤后承王命徂征。

2. 告于众曰：“嗟！予有众。圣有谟训，明征定保。先王克谨天戒，臣人克有常宪，百官修辅，厥后惟明明。每岁孟春，道人以木铎徇于路，官师相规，工执艺事以谏，其或不恭，邦有常刑。

“惟时羲和颠覆厥德，沉乱于酒，畔官离次，傲扰天纪，遐弃厥

【今译】

1. 夏帝仲康开始治理四海，胤侯受命掌管夏王的六师。羲和放弃他的职守，在他的私邑嗜酒荒乱。胤侯接受王命，去征伐羲和。

2. 胤侯告诫军众说：“啊！我的众位将士。圣人有谟有训，明白指明了定国安邦的事。先王能谨慎对待上天的警诫，大臣能遵守常法，百官修治职事辅佐君主，君主就明而又明。每年孟春之月，宣令官员用木铎在路上宣布教令，官长互相规劝，百工依据他们从事的技艺进行谏说。他们有不奉行的，国家将用常刑制裁。

“这个羲和颠倒他的行为，沉醉在酒中，背离职位，开始搞乱了



The Punitive Expedition of Yin

When Zhong Kang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the marquis of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the (king's) six hosts. (At this time) the Xi and He had neglected the duties of their office, and were abandoned to drink in their (private) cities; and the marquis of Yin received the king's charge to go and punish them.

He made an announcement to his hosts, saying, "Ah! ye, all my men, there are the well-counselled instructions of the sage (founder of our dynasty), clearly verified in their power to give stability and security:—'The former kings were carefully attentive to the warnings of Heaven^①, and their ministers observed the regular laws (of their offices). All the officers (moreover) watchfully did their duty to assist (the government), and their sovereign became entirely intelligent.' Every year, in the first month of spring, the herald, with his wooden-tongued bell, goes along the roads, (proclaiming,) 'Ye officers able to instruct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subjects of your employments. If any of you do not attend with respect (to this requirement), the country has regular punishments for you.'

"Now here are the Xi and He. They have allowed their virtue

① That is, here, such warnings as were supposed to be conveyed by eclipses and other unusual celestial phenomena.



【原文】

司。乃季秋月朔，辰弗集于房。瞽奏鼓，啬夫驰，庶人走。羲和尸厥官，罔闻知，昏迷于天象，以干先王之诛。《政典》曰：先时者杀无赦，不及时者杀无赦。

3. “今予以尔有众奉将天罚。尔众士同力王室，尚弼予钦承天子威命！火炎昆冈，玉石俱焚；天吏逸德，烈于猛火。歼厥渠魁，胁从罔治；旧染污俗，咸与惟新。

【今译】

日月星辰的运行历程，严重放弃他所司的事。前些时候季秋月的朔日，日月不在正常的位置上相会，出现日食的灾变，当时乐官进鼓而去，啬夫奔驰，众人奔走呼号，莫不忙于救日。羲和主管其官却不知道这件事，对天象昏昧无知，因此触犯了先王的诛罚。先王的《政典》说：历法出现先于天时的事，杀掉无赦；出现后于天时的事，杀掉无赦。

3. “现在我率领你们众长，奉行上天的惩罚。你等众士要与王室同心协力，辅助我认真奉行天子的庄严命令！火烧昆山，玉和石同样被焚烧；你们是天王的官吏如有过恶行为，对天下的害处将比猛火更甚。这次应当消灭为恶的大首领，胁从的人不要惩治；旧时染有污秽习俗的人，都允许更新。



to be subverted, and are besotted by drink. They have violated the duties of their office, and left their posts. They have been the first to let the regulating of the heavenly (bodies) get into disorder, putting far from them their proper business. On the first day of the last month of autumn, the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind musicians beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped, and the common people (employed about the public offices) ran about. The Xi and the He, however, as if they were (mere) personators of the dead in their offices, heard nothing and knew nothing;—so stupidly went they astray (from their duties) in the matter of the heavenly appearances, and rendered themselves liable to the death appointed by the former kings. The statutes of government say, ‘When they anticipated the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when (their reckoning) is behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy.’

“Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven. Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the royal House. Give me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the Son of Heaven.

“When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kun^①, gems and stones are burned together; but if a minister of Heaven exceed in doing his duty, the consequences will be fiercer than blazing fire. While I destroy, (therefore,) the chief criminals, I will not punish those who have been forced to follow them; and those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves.

① Kun is perhaps a part of the Kun-lun Mountain in the west of the Kokonor, where the Huanghe River has its sources. The speaker evidently thought of it as volcanic.

【原文】

“呜呼！威克厥爱允济；爱克厥威允罔功。其尔众士，懋戒哉！”

【今译】

“啊！严明胜过慈爱，就真能成功；慈爱胜过严明，就真会无功。
你等众士要努力戒勉和警惕呀！”



“Oh! when sternness overcomes compassion, things are surely conducted to a successful issue. When compassion overcomes sternness, no merit can be achieved. All ye, my warriors, exert yourselves, and take warning (and obey my orders) !”



商 书

汤 誓

【原文】

1. 王曰：“格尔众庶，悉听朕言。非台小子敢行称乱！有夏多罪，天命殛之。今尔有众，汝曰：‘我后不恤我众，舍我穡事而割正夏？’予惟闻汝众言，夏氏有罪，予畏上帝，不敢不正。今汝其曰：‘夏罪其如台？’夏王率遏众力，率割夏邑。有众率怠弗协，曰：‘时日曷丧？予及汝皆亡。’夏德若兹，今朕必往。”

2. “尔尚辅予一人，致天之罚，予其大赉汝！尔无不信，朕不食言。尔不从誓言，予则孥戮汝，罔有攸赦。”

【今译】

1. 王说：“来吧！你们众位，都听我说。不是我小子敢行作乱！因为夏国犯下许多罪行，天帝命令我去讨伐它。现在你们众人会说：‘我们的君王不怜悯我们众人，荒废我们的农事，为什么要征伐夏国呢？’我虽然理解你们的话，但是夏氏有罪，我畏惧上帝，不敢不去征伐啊！现在你们会问：‘夏的罪行究竟怎么样呢？’夏王耗尽民力，剥削夏国的人民。民众怠慢不恭，同他很和谐，他们咒骂夏王说：‘你这个太阳什么时候消失呢？我们愿意同你一起灭亡。’夏王的品德这样坏，现在我一定要去讨伐他。”

2. “你们要辅佐我这个人，实行天帝对夏的惩罚，我将重重地赏赐你们！你们不要不相信，我不会说假话。如果你们不遵守誓言，我就会把你们降成奴隶，或者杀死你们，不会有所赦免。”



The Speech of Tang

The king said, "Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child^①, who dare to undertake a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Xia, Heaven has given the charge to destroy him. Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, 'Our prince does not compassionate us, but (is calling us) away from our husbandry to attack and punish Xia.' I have indeed heard (these) words of you all; (but) the sovereign of Xia is guilty, and as I fear God, I dare not but punish him. Now you are saying, 'What are the crimes of Xia to us?' The king of Xia in every way exhausts the strength of his people, and exercises oppression in the cities of Xia. His multitudes are becoming entirely indifferent (to his service), and feel no bond of union (to him). They are saying, 'When wilt thou, O sun, expire? We will all perish with thee.' Such is the course of (the sovereign) of Xia, and now I must go (and punish him).

"Assist, I pray you, me, the One man, to carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven. I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me—I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have thus spoken to you, I will put your children to death with you—you shall find no forgiveness."

① "The little child" is a designation used humbly of themselves by the kings of Shang and Zhou. It is given also to them and others by such great ministers as Yi Yin and the duke of Zhou.



仲虺之诰（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 成汤放桀于南巢，惟有惭德。曰：“予恐来世以台为口实。”仲虺乃作诰。

曰：“呜呼！惟天生民有欲，无主乃乱，惟天生聪明时乂。有夏昏德，民坠涂炭；天乃锡王勇智，表正万邦，纘禹旧服。兹率厥典，奉若天命！”

2. “夏王有罪，矫诬上天，以布命于下。帝用不臧，式商受命，用爽厥师。简贤附势，实繁有徒。肇我邦于有夏，若苗之有莠，若粟

【今译】

1. 成汤放逐夏桀使他住在南巢，心里有些惭愧。他说：“我怕后世拿我作为话柄。”仲虺于是向汤作了解释。

仲虺说：“啊！上天生养人民，人人都有情欲，没有君主，人民就会乱，因此上天又生出聪明的人来治理他们。夏桀行为昏乱，人民陷于泥涂火炭一样的困境；上天于是赋予勇敢和智慧给大王，使您做万国的表率，继承大禹长久的事业。您现在要遵循大禹的常法，顺从上天的大命！”

2. 夏王桀有罪，他假托上天的意旨，残酷施虐于下民。上天因此认为他不善，要我商家承受天命，使我们教导他的众庶。简慢贤明依从权势的，这种人徒众很多。从前我商家立国于夏世，像苗中有莠





The Announcement of Zhong-hui

When king Tang the Successful was keeping Jie, king of Xia, in banishment in Nan-chao, he had a feeling of shame on account of his conduct, and said, "I am afraid that in future ages men will fill their mouths with me, (as an apology for their rebellious proceedings.)" "

On this Zhong-hui made the following announcement: "Oh! Heaven gives birth to the people with (such) desires that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven again gives birth to the man of intelligence to regulate them. The sovereign of Xia had his virtue all-obsured, and the people were (as if they had fallen) amid mire and (burning) charcoal. Heaven hereupon gifted (our) king with valour and prudence, to serve as a sign and director to the myriad regions, and to continue the old ways of Yü. You are now (only) following the proper course, honouring and obeying the appointment of Heaven. The king of Xia was an offender, falsely and calumniously alleging the sanction of supreme Heaven, to spread abroad his commands among the people. On this account God viewed him with disapprobation, caused our Shang to receive his appointment, and employed (you) to enlighten the multitudes (of the people).

"Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful, many such followers he had indeed: (but) from the first our country was to the sovereign of Xia like weeds among the springing



【原文】

之有稗。小大战战，罔不惧于非辜；矧予之德言足听闻？

“惟王不迩声色，不殖货利；德懋懋官，功懋懋赏；用人惟己，改过不吝；克宽克仁，彰信兆民。乃葛伯仇饷，初征自葛。东征西夷怨，南征北狄怨。曰：奚独后予？攸徂之民，室家相庆。曰：徯予后。后来其苏。民之戴商，厥惟旧哉！”

3. “佑贤辅德，显忠遂良；兼弱攻昧，取乱侮亡。推亡固存，邦乃其昌。

“德日新，万邦惟怀；志自满，九族乃离。王懋昭大德，建中于

【今译】

草，像粟中有秕谷一样。小百姓和大人物战栗恐惧，无不害怕无罪受戮之中；何况我商家的德和言都四处可听闻怎不招致夏桀的憎恨呢？

“大王不近声色，不聚货财；德盛的人用官职劝勉他，功大的人用奖赏劝勉他；用人之言像自己说的一样，改正过错毫不吝惜；能宽能仁，昭信于万民。从前葛伯无端仇杀我饷食的人，我们的征伐从葛国开始。大王东征则西夷怨恨，南征则北狄怨恨。他们说：怎么独独把我们百姓摆在后面？我军过往之处，家家互相庆贺。他们说：等待我们的君主，君主来临，我们就会复活了！天下人民爱戴我们商家，已经很久了啊！”

3. “佑助贤德的诸侯，显扬忠良的诸侯；兼并懦弱的，讨伐昏暗的，夺取荒乱的，轻慢走向灭亡的。推求灭亡的道理，以巩固自己的生存，国家就将昌盛。

“德行日日革新，天下万国就会怀念；志气自满自大，亲近的九



corn, and blasted grains among the good. (Our people,) great and small, were in constant apprehension, fearful though they were guilty of no crime. How much more was this the case, when our (prince's) virtues became a theme (eagerly) listened to! Our king did not approach to (dissolute) music and women; he did not seek to accumulate property and wealth. To great virtue he gave great offices, and to great merit great rewards. He employed others as if (their excellences) were his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent, from the display, (of such virtue), confidence was reposed in him by the millions of the people.

"When the earl of Ge^① showed his enmity to the provision-carriers, the work of punishment began with Ge. When it went on in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on in the south, those of the north murmured:—they said, 'Why does he make us alone the last?' To whatever people he went, they congratulated one another in their families, saying, 'We have waited for our prince; our prince is come, and we revive.' The people's honouring our Shang is a thing of long existence.

"Show favour to the able and right-principled (among the princes), and aid the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good have free course. Absorb the weak, and punish the wilfully blind; take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin. When you (thus) accelerate the end of what is (of itself) ready to perish, and strengthen what is itself strong to live, how will the states all flourish! When (a sovereign's)

① Ge was a principality corresponding to the present district of Ning-ling, He-nan. It was thus near the southern Bo, which belonged to Tang.



【原文】

民，以义制事，以礼制心，垂裕后昆。予闻曰：能自得师者王，谓人莫己若者亡。好问则裕，自用则小。

“呜呼！慎厥终，惟其始。殖有礼，覆昏暴。钦崇天道，永保天命。”

【今译】

族也会离散。大王要努力显扬大德，对人民建立中道，用义裁决事务，用礼制约思想，把宽厚之道传给后人。我听说能够自己求得老师的人就会为王，以为别人不及自己的人就会灭亡。爱好问，知识就充裕；只凭自己，闻见就狭小。

“啊！慎终的办法，在于善谋它的开始。扶植有礼之邦，灭亡昏暴之国；敬重上天这种规律，就可以长久保持天命了。”



virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad regions; when his mind is full (only) of himself, he is abandoned by the nine branches of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your virtue (still more) illustrious, and set up (the standard of) the Mean before the people. Order your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety;—so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying, ‘He who finds instructors for himself, comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself, comes to ruin. He who likes to put questions, becomes enlarged; he who uses only his own views, becomes smaller (than he was).’ Oh! he who would take care of the end must be attentive to the beginning. There is establishment for the observers of propriety, and overthrow for the blinded and wantonly indifferent. To revere and honour the path prescribed by Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favouring appointment of Heaven.”



汤 诰（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 王归自克夏，至于亳，诞告万方。

王曰：“嗟！尔万方有众，明听予一人诰。惟皇上帝降衷于下民。若有恒性，克绥厥猷惟后。夏王灭德作威，以敷虐于尔万方百姓。尔万方百姓罹其凶害，弗忍荼毒，并告无辜于上下神祇。天道福善祸淫，降灾于夏，以彰厥罪。肆台小子将天命明威，不敢赦。敢用玄

【今译】

1. 汤王在战胜夏桀后回来，到了亳邑，大告万方诸侯。

汤王说：“啊！你们万方民众，明白听从我的教导。伟大的上帝，降善于下界人民。顺从人民的常性，能使他们安于教导的就是为君的道理。夏王灭弃道德滥用威刑，向你们万方百姓施行虐政。你们万方百姓遭受他的残害，痛苦不堪，普遍向天地神祇申诉无罪。天道福佑善人惩罚坏人，降灾于夏国，以显露他的罪过；所以我小子奉行天命



The Announcement of Tang^①

When the king returned from vanquishing Xia and came to Bo, he made a grand announcement to the myriad regions.

The king said, "Ah! ye multitudes of the myriad regions, listen clearly to the announcement of me, the One man^②. The great God has conferred (even) on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign.

"The king of Xia extinguished his virtue, and played the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the wormwood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence to the spirits of heaven and earth. The way of Heaven is to bless the good, and make the bad miserable. It sent down calamities on (the House of) Xia, to make manifest its guilt. Therefore I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and its bright

① Tang had made an end of the dynasty of Xia, and returned to Bo, when he issued this Announcement, which may be considered as a solemn inauguration of the new dynasty. He shows how he had taken possession of the throne in reverent submission to the will of Heaven, what appreciation he had of the duties devolving on him, and the spirit in which he would discharge them. In the end he calls on the princes and the people to sympathize and co-operate with him.

② "The One man" has occurred before, in "The Songs of the Five Sons", as a designation of the sovereign. It continues to be so to the present day.



【原文】

牡，敢昭告于上天神后，请罪有夏，聿求元圣，与之戮力，以与尔有众请命。

2. “上天孚佑下民，罪人黜伏。天命弗僭，责若草木，兆民允殖。俾予一人辑宁尔邦家，兹朕未知获戾于上下，慄慄危惧，若将陨于深渊。凡我造邦，无从匪彝，无即慆淫，各守尔典，以承天休。尔有善，朕弗敢蔽；罪当朕躬，弗敢自赦，惟简在上帝之心。其尔万方有罪，在予一人；予一人有罪，无以尔万方。

“呜呼！尚克时忱，乃亦有终。”

【今译】

明法，不敢宽宥。敢用黑色牡牛向天神后土祷告，请求惩治夏桀，就邀请了大圣人伊尹与我共同努力，为你们众人请求保全生命。

2. “上天真诚帮助天下人民，罪人夏桀被废黜了。天道不差，灿然像草木的滋生繁荣，百姓真的乐于生活了。上天使我和睦安定你们的国家，这回伐桀我不知道得罪了天地没有，惊恐畏惧，像要落到深渊里一样。凡我建立的诸侯，不要施行非法，不要追求安乐；要各自遵守常法，以接受上天的福禄。你们有善行，我不敢掩盖；罪过在我自身，我不敢自己宽恕，因为这些在上帝心里都明明白白。你们万方有过失，原因都在于我；我有过失，不会连及你们万方诸侯。

“呜呼！但愿能够这样诚信不疑，就会获得成功。”



terrors, did not dare to forgive (the criminal). I presumed to use a dark-coloured victim-bull, and, making clear announcement to the Spiritual Sovereign in the high heavens, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Xia as a criminal. Then I sought for the great Sage, with whom I might unite my strength, to request the favour (of Heaven) for you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favour to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. What Heaven appoints is without error;—brilliantly (now), like the blossoming of plants and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.

“It is given to me, the One man, to secure the harmony and tranquillity of your states and clans and now I know not whether I may not offend against (the Powers) above and below. I am fearful and trembling, as if I were in danger of falling into a deep abyss. Throughout all the regions that enter on a new life under me, do not, (ye princes), follow lawless ways; make no approach to insolence and dissoluteness; let every one be careful to keep his statutes;—so that we may receive the favour of Heaven. The good in you I will not dare to keep concealed; and for the evil in me I will not dare to forgive myself. I will examine these things in harmony with the mind of God. When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, let it rest on me, the One man. When guilt is found in me, the One man, it shall not attach to you who occupy the myriad regions.

“Oh! let us attain to be sincere in these things, and so we shall likewise have a (happy) consummation.”



伊 训 (伪古文尚书)

【原文】

1. 惟元祀十有二月乙丑，伊尹祠于先王，奉嗣王祗见厥祖。侯甸群后咸在，百官总己以听冢宰。伊尹乃明言烈祖之成德，以训于王。

2. 曰：“呜呼！古有夏先后，方懋厥德，罔有天灾，山川鬼神亦莫不宁，暨鸟兽鱼鼈咸若。于其子孙弗率，皇天降灾，假手于我。有命造攻自鸣条；朕哉自亳。惟我商王布昭圣武，代虐以宽，兆民允怀。今王嗣厥德，罔不在初！立爱惟亲，立敬惟长，始于家邦，终于

【今译】

1. 太甲元年十二月乙丑日，伊尹祭祀先王，侍奉嗣王恭敬地拜见他的祖先。侯服甸服的诸侯都在祭祀行列，百官率领自己的官员，听从太宰伊尹的命令。伊尹于是明白说明大功之祖成汤的大德，来教导太甲。

2. 伊尹说：“啊！从前夏代的先君，当他勉力施行德政的时候，没有发生天灾，山川的鬼神也没有不安宁的，连同鸟兽鱼鼈各种动物的生长都很顺遂。到了他的子孙不遵循先人的德政，上天降下灾祸，借助于我汤王的手。对他们进行惩罚。我们进攻有夏虽然开始于鸣条之野，但以商代夏的征兆，却早在我先王于亳都修德的时候就显示出来了。我商王宣明德威，用宽和代替暴虐，所以天下兆民相信我、怀念我。现在我王嗣行成汤的美德，一开始就应该十分谨慎！行爱于亲

The Instructions of Yi

In the twelfth month of the first year, on (the day) Yi-chou, Yi Yin sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir-king reverently before (the shrine of) his grandfather. All the princes from the domain of the nobles and the royal domain were present; all the officers (also), each continuing to discharge his particular duties, were there to receive the orders of the chief minister. Yi Yin then clearly described the complete virtue of the Meritorious Ancestor for the instruction of the (young) king.

He said, "Oh! of old the former kings of Xia cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquility; and the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, all enjoyed their existence according to their nature. But their descendant did not follow (their example), and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our (ruler) who was in possession of its favouring appointment. The attack (on Xia) may be traced to (the orgies in) Ming-tiao, but our (rise) began in Bo. Our king of Shang brilliantly displayed his sagely prowess; for oppression he substituted his generous gentleness; and the millions of the people gave him their hearts. Now your Majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtue;—all depends on (how) you commence your reign. To set up love, it is for you to love (your relations); to set up respect, it is for you to respect (your elders). The commencement





【原文】

四海。

3. “呜呼！先王肇修人纪，从谏弗咈，先民时若；居上克明，为下克忠；与人不求备，检身若不及。以至于有万邦，兹惟艰哉！

“敷求哲人，俾辅于尔后嗣。制《官刑》，儆于有位。曰：敢有恒舞于宫、酣歌于室，时谓巫风。敢有殉于货色、恒于游畋，时谓淫风。敢有侮圣言、逆忠直、远耆德、比顽童，时谓乱风。惟兹三风十愆，卿士有一于身，家必丧；邦君有一于身，国必亡。臣下不匡，其

【今译】

人，行敬于长上，从家和国开始，最终推广到天下。

3. “啊！先王努力讲求做人的纲纪，听从谏言而不违反，顺从前贤的话；处在上位能够明察，为臣下能够尽忠；结交人不求全责备，检点自己惟恐来不及一样。因此达到拥有万国，这是很难的呀！

“又普求贤智，使他们辅助你们后嗣；还制定《官刑》来警戒百官。《官刑》上说：敢有经常在宫中舞蹈、在房中饮酒酣歌的，这叫做巫风。敢有贪求财货女色、经常游乐田猎的，这叫做淫风。敢有轻视圣人教训、拒绝忠直谏戒、疏远年老有德、亲近顽愚童稚的，这叫做乱风。这些三风十过，卿士身上有一种，他的家一定会丧失；国君身上有一种，他的国一定会灭亡。臣下不匡正君主，要受到墨刑。这



is in the family and the state; the consummation is in (all within) the four seas.

“Oh! the former king began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together. He listened to expostulation, and did not seek to resist it; he conformed to (the wisdom of) the ancients; occupying the highest position, he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position, he displayed his loyalty; he allowed (the good qualities of) the men (whom he employed), and did not seek that they should have every talent; in the government of himself, he seemed to think that he could never (sufficiently) attain. It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions. —How painstaking was he in these things!

“He extensively sought out wise men, who should be helpful to you, his descendant and heir. He laid down the punishments for officers, and warned those who were in authority, saying, ‘If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers, —that is called the fashion of sorcerers; if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to the chase, that is called the fashion of extravagance; if you dare to despise sage words, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to seek the company of procacious youths, —that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these three fashions with their ten evil ways^①, his family will surely come to ruin; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his state will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not (try

① The “ten evil ways” are those mentioned in connexion with the three evil fashions; —two under the sorcerers’ fashion, and four under each of the other two fashions.

【原文】

刑墨，县训于蒙士。

4. “呜呼！嗣王祗厥身，念哉！圣谟洋洋，嘉言孔彰！惟上帝不常，作善，降之百祥；作不善，降之百殃。尔惟德罔小，万邦惟庆；尔惟不德罔大，坠厥宗。”

【今译】

些对于下士也要详细教导。

4. “啊！嗣王当以这些教导警戒自身，念念不忘呀！圣人的谋略美好，圣人的嘉训很明啊！上帝的眷顾不常在一家，作善事的，就赐给百福；作不善的，就赐给他百殃。你修德不论多小，天下的人都会感到庆幸；你行不善，即使不大，也会丧失国家。”



to) correct (such vices in the sovereign) shall be punished with branding. ' These rules were minutely inculcated (also) on the sons of officers and nobles in their lessons.

"Oh! do you who now succeed to the throne, revere (these warnings) in your person. Think of them! —Sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly set forth! (The ways) of God are not invariable:—on the good-doer he sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer he sends down all miseries. Do you but be virtuous, be it in small things (or in large), and the myriad regions will have cause for rejoicing. If you be not virtuous, be it in large things (or in small), it will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple. "



太甲上（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 惟嗣王不惠于阿衡，伊尹作书曰：“先王顾谟天之明命，以承上下神祇、社稷宗庙罔不祇肃。天监厥德，用集大命，抚绥四方。惟尹躬克左右厥辟宅师，肆嗣王丕承基绪。惟尹躬先见于西邑夏，自周有终，相亦惟终；其后嗣王罔克有终，相亦罔终。嗣王戒哉！祇尔厥辟，辟不辟，忝厥祖。”

2. 王惟庸罔念闻，伊尹乃言曰：“先王昧爽丕显，坐以待旦。旁

【今译】

1. 嗣王太甲对伊尹不顺从，伊尹作书给王说：“先王成汤顾念天的明命是正确的，因此供奉上下神祇、宗庙社稷无不恭敬严肃。上天看到汤的善政，因此降下重大使命，使他抚安天下。我伊尹亲身能辅助君主安定人民，所以嗣王就承受了先王的基业。我伊尹亲身先见到西方夏邑的君主，用忠信取得成就，辅相大臣也取得成就；他们的后继王不能取得成就，辅相大臣也没有成就。嗣王要警戒呀！应当敬重你做君主的法则，做君主而不尽君道，将会羞辱自己的祖先。”

2. 王像往常一样不念不闻。伊尹就说：“先王在天不亮就赶紧梳





The Tai Jia (I)

The king, on succeeding to the throne, did not follow (the advice of) A-heng^①. (A-heng or) Yi Yin then made the following writing:—"The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and so he maintained the worship of the spirits of heaven and earth, of those presiding over the land and the grain, and of those of the ancestral temple;—all with a sincere reverence. Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him, that he should soothe and tranquillize the myriad regions. I, Yin, then gave my assistance to my sovereign in the settlement of the people; and thus it is that you, O heir-king, have received the great inheritance. I have seen it myself in Xia with its western capital^②, that when its rulers went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same, and afterwards, when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-king. Reverently use your sovereignty. If you do not play the sovereign, as the name requires, you will disgrace your grandfather."

The king would not think (of these words), nor listen to them. On this Yi Yin said, "The former king, before it was light,

① A-heng, it is said by Sima Qian, was the name of Yi. Others make it the title of the chief minister under the Shang Dynasty,—"the support and steelyard", "the But-tress and Director".

② An-yi, the capital of Xia, might be described as "western", from the standpoint of Bo.



【原文】

求俊彦，启迪后人，无越厥命以自覆。慎乃俭德，惟怀永图。若虞机张，往省括于度，则释；钦厥止，率乃祖攸行！惟朕以怵，万世有辞。”

3. 王未克变。伊尹曰：“兹乃不义。习与性成，予弗狎于弗顺。营于桐宫，密迩先王其训，无俾世迷。”

王徂桐宫，居忧，克终允德。

【今译】

洗加冕，坐着等待天明。又遍求俊彦的臣子，开导后人，不要忘记先祖的教导以自取灭亡。您要慎行俭约的美德，怀着长久的计谋。好像虞人装弩一样，弩牙张开以后，还要看矢括恰好在瞄准的位置上，才发射一样；您要重视自己所要达到的目的，遵行你的祖先的措施！这样我就高兴了，千秋万世您将会得到美好的声誉。”

3. 太甲不能改变。伊尹对群臣说：“嗣王这样就是做惯了不义的事。成了性。我不能安于不顺教导的人。于是伊尹在桐营造宫室把太甲下放到那里，那里靠近先王陵墓使他能经常想到祖宗的遗训，莫让他终身迷误。”

嗣王去桐宫，处在忧伤的环境，改悔过来成就诚信的美德。



sought to have large and clear views, and then sat waiting for the dawn (to carry them into practice). He (also) sought on every side for men of ability and virtue, to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate his charge (to me), and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive after the virtue of self-restraint, and cherish far-reaching plans. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the spring, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets it go; reverently determine your aim, and follow the ways of your grandfather. Thus I shall be delighted, and be able to show to all ages that I have discharged my trust. ”

The king was not yet able to change (his course). Yin said (to himself), “This is (real) unrighteousness, and is becoming by practice (a second) nature. I cannot bear to be near (so) disobedient (a person). I will build (a place) in the palace at Tong, where he can be in silence near (the grave of) the former king. This will be a lesson which will keep him from going astray all his life. ” The king went (accordingly) to the palace at Tong, and dwelt during the period of mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous.

太甲中（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 惟三祀十有二月朔，伊尹以冕服奉嗣王归于亳，作书曰：“民非后，罔克胥匡以生；后非民，罔以辟四方。皇天眷佑有商，俾嗣王克终厥德，实万世无疆之休！”

2. 王拜手稽首，曰：“予小子不明于德，自底不类。欲败度，纵败礼，以速戾于厥躬。天作孽，犹可违；自作孽，不可逭。既往背师保之训，弗克于厥初；尚赖匡救之德，图惟厥终。”

3. 伊尹拜手稽首，曰：“修厥身，允德协于下，惟明后。先王子

【今译】

1. 三年十二月朔日，伊尹戴着礼帽穿着礼服迎接嗣王太甲回到亳都，作书告王说：“人民没有君主，不能互相匡正而生活；君主没有人民，无法治理四方。上天顾念帮助商家，使嗣王能成就君德，实在是商家万代无疆之美啊！”

2. 嗣王拜跪叩头说：“我小子不明于德行，自己招致不善。多欲就败坏法度，放纵就败坏礼制，因此给自身招来了罪过。上天造成的灾祸，还可回避；自己造成的灾祸，不可逃脱。以前我违背师保的教训，当初不会责备自己；还望依靠您的匡救，图一个我的好结局。”

3. 伊尹跪拜叩头，说：“讲究自身的修养，又用诚信的美德和谐





The Tai Jia (II)

On the first day of the twelfth month of his third year, Yi Yin escorted the young king in the royal cap and robes back to Bo. (At the same time) he made the following writing :—“ Without the sovereign, the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to (the comfort of) their lives ; without the people, the sovereign would have no sway over the four quarters (of the kingdom). Great Heaven has graciously favoured the House of Shang, and granted to you, O young king, at last to become virtuous. This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations. ”

The king did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground, saying, “ I, the little child, was without understanding of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at nought all rules of conduct, and violating by my self-indulgence all rules of propriety, and the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self there is no escape. Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my tutor and guardian ;—my beginning has been marked by incompetency. Let me still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be good ! ”

Yi Yin did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head



【原文】

惠困穷，民服厥命，罔有不悦。并其有邦厥邻，乃曰：徯我后，后来无罚。王懋乃德，视乃烈祖，无时豫怠。奉先思孝，接下思恭。视远惟明，听德惟聪。朕承王之休无斁。”

【今译】

臣下，就是明君。先王成汤慈爱穷困的人民，所以人民服从他的教导，没有不喜悦的。连他的友邦和邻国，也这样说：等待我们的君主吧，我们的君主来了，就不受刑罚了。大王要增进你的德行，效法你的列祖，不可有顷刻的安乐懈怠。事奉先人，当思孝顺；接待臣下，当思恭敬。观察远方要眼光明亮，听从善言耳朵要灵敏。能够这样，我享受王的幸福就会没有止境。”



on the ground, and said, "To cultivate his person, and by being sincerely virtuous, bring (all) below to harmonious concord with him;—this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former king was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his children, and the people submitted to his commands,—all with sincere delight. Even in the states of the neighbouring princes, (the people) said, 'We are waiting for our sovereign; when our sovereign comes, we shall not suffer the punishments (that we, now do).' O king, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard (the example of) your meritorious grandfather. At no time allow yourself in pleasure and idleness. In worshipping your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety; in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful; in looking to what is distant, try to get clear views; have your ears ever open to lessons of virtue;—then shall I acknowledge (and respond to) the excellence of your majesty with an untiring (devotion to your service)."

太甲下（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 伊尹申诰于王曰：“呜呼！惟天无亲，克敬惟亲；民罔常怀，怀于有仁；鬼神无常享，享于克诚。天位艰哉！

“德惟治，否德乱。与治同道，罔不兴；与乱同事，罔不亡。终始慎厥与，惟明明后。

“先王惟时懋敬厥德，克配上帝。今王嗣有令绪。尚监兹哉！

2. “若升高，必自下；若陟遐，必自迩。无轻民事，惟难；无安

【今译】

1. 伊尹向王重复告诫说：“呀！上天没有经常的亲人，能敬天的天就亲近；人民没有经常归附的君主，他们归附仁爱的君主；鬼神没有经常的享食，享食于能诚信的人。处在天子的位置很不容易呀！

“用有德的人就治，不用有德的人就乱。举措与古治世相同，没有不兴盛的；举措与古乱世相同，没有不灭亡的。终和始都慎择自己的取法的榜样，就是英明的君主。

“先王因此勉力敬修自己的德行，所以能够匹配上帝。现在我王继续享有好的基业，希望看到这一点呀！

2. “如果升高，一定要从下面开始；如果行远，一定要从近处开





The Tai Jia (III)

Yi Yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, "Oh! Heaven has no (partial) affection;—only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The people are not constant to those whom they cherish; they cherish (only) him who is benevolent. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered to them;—they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere. A place of difficulty is the Heaven (-conferred) seat. When there are (those) virtues, good government is realized; when they are not, disorder comes. To maintain the same principles as those who secured good government will surely lead to prosperity; to pursue the courses of disorder will surely lead to ruin. He who at last, as at first, is careful as to whom and what he follows is a truly intelligent sovereign. The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his virtue, so that he was the fellow of God^①. Now O king, you have entered on the inheritance of his excellent line;—fix your inspection on him.

" (Your course must be) as when in ascending high you begin from where it is low, and when in travelling far you begin from where it is near. Do not slight the occupations of the people;—

① This phrase is used, as here, with reference to the virtue of a sovereign, making him as it were the mate of God, ruling on earth as He rules above; and with reference to the honours paid to a departed sovereign, when he is associated with God in the great sacrificial services.



【原文】

厥位，惟危。慎终于始！

“有言逆于汝心，必求诸道；有言逊于汝志，必求诸非道。

“呜呼！弗虑胡获？弗为胡成？一人元良，万邦以贞。君罔以辩言乱旧政，臣罔以宠利居成功。邦其永孚于休。”

【今译】

始。不要轻视人民的事务，要想到它的难处；不要苟安君位，要想到它的危险。慎终要从开头做起啊！

“有些话不顺你的心意，一定要从道义来考求他善良的出发点；有些话顺从你的心意，一定要从不道义来考求他的不良动机。

“啊呀！不思考，怎么收获？不做事，怎么成功？天子大善，天下因此清正。君主不要使用巧辩扰乱旧政，臣下不要凭仗骄宠和利禄而安居成功。这样，国家将永久保持在美好之中。”



think of their difficulties. Do not yield to a feeling of repose on your throne;—think of its perils. Be careful for the end at the beginning. When you hear words that are distasteful to your mind, you must enquire whether they be not right; when you hear words that accord with your own views, you must enquire whether they be not contrary to what is right. Oh! what attainment can be made without anxious thought? What achievement can be made without earnest effort? Let the One man be greatly good, and the myriad regions will be rectified by him.

“When the sovereign does not with disputatious words throw the old rules of government into confusion, and the minister does not, for favour and gain, continue in an office whose work is done,—then the country will lastingly and surely enjoy happiness.”

咸有一德 (伪古文尚书)

【原文】

1. 伊尹既复政厥辟，将告归，乃陈戒于德。
2. 曰：“呜呼！天难谌，命靡常。常厥德，保厥位；厥德匪常，九有以亡。夏王弗克庸德，慢神虐民。皇天弗保，监于万民，启迪有命，眷求一德，俾作神主。惟尹躬暨汤咸有一德，克享天心。受天明命，以有九有之师，爰革夏正。非天私我有商，惟天佑于一德；非商求于下民，惟民归于一德。德惟一，动罔不吉；德二三，动罔不凶。

【今译】

1. 伊尹已经把政权归还给太甲，将要告老回到他的私邑，于是进言修德的事，告诫太甲。
2. 伊尹说：“唉！上天难信，天命无常。经常修德，可以保持君位；修德不能经常，九州因此就会失掉。夏桀不能经常修德，怠慢神明，虐待人民。皇天不安，观察万方，开导佑助天命的人，眷念寻求纯德的君，使他作为百神之主。只有伊尹自身和成汤都有纯一之德，能合天心，接受上天的明教，因此拥有九州的民众，于是革除了夏王的虐政。这不是上天偏爱我们商家，而是上天佑助纯德的人；不是商家求请于民，而是人民归向纯德的人。德纯一，行动起来无不吉利；德不纯一，行动起来无不凶险。吉和凶不出差错，关键在人；上天降





The Common Possession of Pure Virtue

Yi Yin, having returned the government into the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue.

He said, "Oh! it is difficult to rely on Heaven;—its appointments are not constant. (But if the sovereign see to it that) his virtue be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue be not constant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Xia could not maintain the virtue (of his ancestors) unchanged, but contemned the spirits and oppressed the people. Great Heaven no (longer) extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who should receive its favouring appointment, fondly seeking (a possessor of) pure virtue; whom it might make lord of all the spirits. Then there were I, Yin, and Tang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received (in consequence) the bright favour of Heaven, so as to become possessor of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and proceeded to change Xia's commencement of the year. It was not that Heaven had any private partiality for the lord of Shang;—it simply gave its favour to pure virtue. It was not that Shang sought (the allegiance of) the lower people;—the people simply turned to pure virtue. Where (the sovereign's) virtue is pure, his enterprizes are all fortunate; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his enterprizes are all unfortunate. Good and evil do



【原文】

惟吉凶不僭，在人；惟天降灾祥，在德！

3. “今嗣王新服厥命，惟新厥德；终始惟一，时乃日新。任官惟贤才，左右惟其人。臣为上为德，为下为民；其难其慎，惟和惟一。德无常师，主善为师；善无常主，协于克一。俾万姓咸曰：大哉！王言。又曰：一哉！王心。克绥先王之禄，永底烝民之生。

4. “呜呼！七世之庙，可以观德；万夫之长，可以观政。后非民

【今译】

灾降福，却在于德啊！

3. “现在嗣王新受天命，要更新自己的品德；始终如一而不间断，这样就能日日更新。任命官吏当用贤才，任用左右大臣当用忠良。大臣协助君上施行德政，协助下属治理人民；对他们任用前认真考察，要慎重挑选，任用后要和谐相处，要始终如一。德没有不变的榜样，以善为准则就是榜样；善没有不变的准则，协合于能够统一的人就是准则。要使万姓都说：重要呀！君王的话。又说：统一呀！君王的心。这样，就能安享先王的福禄，长久安定众民的生活。

4. “啊呀！供奉七世祖先的宗庙，可以看到功德；万夫的首长，



not wrongly befall men, but Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.

“Now, O young king, you are newly entering on your(great) appointment,—you should be seeking to make new your virtue. At last, as at first, have this as your one object, so shall you make a daily renovation. Let the officers whom you employ be men of virtue and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men. The minister, in relation to(his sovereign) above him, has to promote his virtue, and, in relation to the(people) beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be(to find the proper man) ! What careful attention must be required ! (Thereafter) there must be harmony(cultivated with him) , and a oneness(of confidence placed in him).

“There is no invariable model of virtue;—a supreme regard to what is good gives the model of it. There is no invariable characteristic of what is good that is to be supremely regarded;—it is found where there is a conformity to the uniform consciousness(in regard to what is good). (Such virtue) will make the people with their myriad surnames all say, “How great are the words of the king!” and also, “How single and pure is the king’s heart!’ It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the rich possession of the former king, and to secure for ever the(happy) life of the multitudes of the people.

“Oh! (to retain a place) in the seven-shrined temple^① of an-

① It is beyond doubt that the ancestral temple of the kings of Zhou contained seven shrines or seven small temples, for the occupancy of which, by the spirit-tablets of such and such kings, there were definite rules, as the line of sovereigns increased. It would appear from the text that a similar practice prevailed in the time of the Shang Dynasty.

【原文】

罔使，民非后罔事。无自广以狭人，匹夫匹妇不获自尽，民主罔与成厥功。”

【今译】

可以看到行政才能。君主没有人民就无人任用，人民没有君主就无处尽力。不可妄自尊大，看不起平民百姓，平民百姓如果不得各尽其力，人君就没有人帮助建立功勋。”



cestors is a sufficient witness of virtue. To be acknowledged as chief by the myriad heads of families is a sufficient evidence of one's government. The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not think yourself so large as to deem others small. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity to give full development to their ability, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit. "





盘庚上

【原文】

1. 盘庚迁于殷。民不适有居。率吁众慼出，矢言。曰：“我王来，既爰宅于兹，重我民，无尽刘。不能胥匡以生，卜稽，曰其如台？先王有服，恪谨天命，兹犹不常宁？不常厥邑，于今五邦！今不承于古，罔知天之断命，矧曰其克从先王之烈？若颠木之有由蘖，天其永

【今译】

1. 盘庚将把都城迁到殷。人民不愿迁往那个处所，相率呼吁一些贵戚大臣出来，向他们陈述意见。众人说：“我们的君王迁来，既已改居在这里，是看重我们臣民，都死在旧都。现在我们得不到什么照顾救助，无法生存，用龟卜稽考一下，将怎么样呢？以前先王有事，敬慎地遵从天命。就是这样还不能长久安宁，搬来搬去到现在已经五个国都了！现在不继承先王敬慎天命的传统，就不知道老天所决定的命运如何，更何况说能继承先王的事业呢？好像倒伏的树又长出了新枝、被砍伐的残余又发出嫩芽一样，老天将使我们的国运在这个新都



Pan-geng (I)

Pan-geng wished to remove (the capital) to Yin^①, but the people would not go to dwell there. He therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations, "Our king came, and fixed on this settlement. He did so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would have them all die, where they cannot (now) help one another to preserve their lives. I have consulted the tortoise-shell, and obtained the reply—'This is no place for us.' When the former kings had any (important) business, they gave reverent heed to the commands of Heaven. In a case like this especially they did not indulge (the wish for) constant repose,—they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time (the capital has been) in five regions^②. If we do not follow (the example) of these old times, we shall be refusing to acknowledge that Heaven is making an end of our dynasty (here); how little can it be said of us that we are following the meritorious course of the former kings! As from the stump of a felled tree there are sprouts and shoots, Heaven will perpetuate its decree in our favour in this new city;—the great inheritance of the former kings will be continued and renewed, and tranquillity will be secured to the four

① The removal was probably necessitated by an inundation of Huanghe River. Kang had been fixed on by Zu-yi for his capital. The Yin to which Pang-geng removed was in the present district of Yan-zi, department He-nan.

② This fact—the frequent change of capital—does not give us a great idea of the stability and resources of the Shang Dynasty.



【原文】

我命于兹新邑，绍复先王之大业，底绥四方。”

盘庚教于民，由乃在位以常旧服、正法度。曰：“无或敢伏小人之攸箴！”王命众，悉至于廷。

2. 王若曰：“格汝众，予告汝训汝。猷黜乃心，无傲从康。古我先王，亦惟图任旧人共政。王播告之修，不匿厥指，王用丕钦。罔有逸言，民用丕变。今汝聒聒，起信险肤，予弗知乃所讼。

“非予自荒兹德，惟汝含德，不惕予一人。予若观火，予亦拙谋作，乃逸。若网在纲，有条而不紊；若衣服田，力穡乃亦有秋。汝克

【今译】

奄邑延续下去，继续复兴先王的大业，把四方都安定下来啊。”

盘庚开导臣民，又教导在位的大臣遵守旧制、正视法度。他说：“不要有人敢于凭借小民的谏诫，反对迁都！”于是，王命令众人，都来到朝廷。

2. 王这样说：“来吧，你们各位，我要告诉你们，开导你们。可克制你们的私心，不要傲上，不要苟且求安。从前我们的先王，也只是谋求任用旧臣共同管理政事。先王有什么教令布告，他们不背离王的旨意，先王因此敬重他们。他们没有错误的言论，百姓们因此也顺从教化。现在你们拒绝我的好意，自以为是，瞎说些蛊惑人心的言论，我不知道你们争辩的意图。

“并不是我自己放弃了任用旧人的美德，而是你们包藏祸心而不把我放在眼里。我对当前形势像看火一样地清楚，我如果又不善于谋划和行动，那就错了。好像把网结在纲上，才能有条理而不紊乱；好像农民从事田间劳动，只有努力耕种，才会大有收成。你们能克制私



quarters (of the kingdom). ”

Pan-geng, in making the people aware of his views, began with those who were in (high) places, and took the constantly recurring circumstances of former times to lay down the right law and measure (for the present emergency), saying, “Let none of you dare to suppress the remonstrances of the poor people.” The king commanded all to come to him in the courtyard (of his palace).

The king spoke to this effect: “Come, all of you; I will announce to you my instructions. Take counsel how to put away your (selfish) thoughts. Do not with haughty (disregard of me) follow after your own case. Of old, our former kings planned like me how to employ the men of old families to share in (the labours of) government. When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to, these did not conceal the royal views; and on this account the kings greatly respected them. They did not exceed the truth (in their communications with the people), and on this account the people became greatly changed (in their views). Now, (however), you keep clamouring, and get the confidence (of the people) by alarming and shallow speeches; I do not know what you are wrangling about. (In this movement) I am not myself abandoning my proper virtue, but you conceal the goodness of my intentions, and do not stand in awe of me, the One man. I see you as clearly as one sees a fire; but I, likewise, by my undecided plans, have produced your error.

“When the net has its line, there is order and not confusion; and when the husbandman labours upon his fields, and reaps with all his might, there is the (abundant) harvest. If you can put away



【原文】

黜乃心，施实德于民，至于婚友，丕乃敢大言汝有积德。乃不畏戎毒于远迹，惰农自安，不昏作劳，不服田亩，越其罔有黍稷。

“汝不和吉言于百姓，惟汝自生毒，乃败祸奸宄，以自灾于厥身。乃既先恶于民，乃奉其恫，汝悔身何及？相时恤民，犹胥顾于箴言，其发有逸口，矧予制乃短长之命？汝曷弗告朕，而胥动以浮言，恐沉于众？若火之燎于原，不可向迳，其犹可扑灭？则惟汝众自作弗靖，非予有咎。

3. “迟任有言曰‘人惟求旧，器非求旧，惟新。’古我先王暨乃祖乃父胥及逸勤，予敢动用非罚？世选尔劳，予不掩尔善。兹予大享

【今译】

心，把实际的好处施给百姓，以至于亲戚朋友，于是才敢扬言你们有积德。如果你们不怕远近会出现大灾害，像懒惰的农民一样自求安逸，不努力操劳，不从事田间劳动，就会没有黍稷。

“你们不向老百姓宣布我的善言，这是你们自生祸害，即将发生灾祸邪恶，而自己害自己。假若已经引导人们做了坏事，而又承受那些痛苦，你们悔恨自己又怎么来得及？看看这些小人吧，他们尚且顾及规劝的话，顾及不说过头的言论，何况我掌握着你们或短或长的生命呢？你们为什么不亲自告诉我，却用些无稽之谈互相鼓动，恐吓煽动民众呢？好像大火在原野上燃烧一样，不能面向，不能接近，还能够扑灭吗？这都是你们众人自己做了不好的事，不是我有过错。

3. “迟任说过：‘人要寻求旧的，器物不要寻求旧的，要新。’过去我们的先王同你们的祖辈父辈共同勤劳，共享安乐，我怎么敢对你



your (selfish) thoughts, and bestow real good upon the people, reaching (also) to your own relatives and friends, you may boldly venture to make your words great, and say that you have accumulated merit. But you do not fear the great evils which (through our not removing) are extending far and near; (you are like) idle husbandmen, who yield themselves to ease, and are not strong to toil and labour on their acres, so that they cannot get their crop of millets.

“You do not speak in a spirit of harmony and goodness to the people, and are only giving birth to bitter evils for yourselves. You play the part of destroyers and authors of calamity, of villains and traitors, to bring down misery on your own persons. You set the example of evil, and must feel its smart; what will it avail you (then) to repent? Look at the poor people—they are still able to look to one another and give expression to their remonstrances, but when they begin to speak, you are ready with your extravagant talk; how much more ought you to have me before your eyes, with whom it is to make your lives long or short! Why do you not report (their words) to me, but go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing in the flames so that it cannot be approached, can it still be beaten out? So, it will not be I who will be to blame, that you all cause dispeace in this way (and must suffer the consequences).

“Chi Ren has said, ‘In men, we seek those of old families; in vessels, we do not seek old ones, but new.’ Of old, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers shared together the ease and labours (of the government); how should I dare to lay un-



【原文】

于先王，尔祖其从与享之。作福作灾，予亦不敢动用非德。

“予告汝于难，若射之有志。汝无侮老成人，无弱孤有幼。各长于厥居，勉出乃力，听予一人之作猷。无有远迩，用罪伐厥死，用德彰厥善。邦之臧，惟汝众；邦之不臧，惟予一人有佚罚。

“凡尔众，其惟致告：自今至于后日，各恭尔事，齐乃位，度乃口。罚及尔身，弗可悔。”

【今译】

们施行不恰当的刑罚呢？世世代代都会说到你们的功劳，我不会掩盖你们的好处。现在我要祭祀我们的先王，你们的祖先也将跟着享受祭祀。赐福降灾，我也不敢动用不恰当的赏赐或惩罚。

“我在患难的时候告诉你们，要像射箭有箭靶一样，你们不能偏离我。你们不要轻视成年人，也不要看不起年幼的人。你们各人领导着自己的封地，努力使出你们的力量，听从我一人的谋划。没有远和近的分别，我用刑罚惩处那些坏的，用赏赐表彰那些好的。国家治理得好，是你们众人的功劳；国家治理得不好，是我刑罚失当。

“你们众人，要思考我告诫的话：从今以后，各人认真地做好你们的事情，整齐法记，闭上你们的口，不许乱说。否则，惩罚到你们身上，后悔也可不能啊！”



deserved afflictions on you? For generations the toils of your (fathers) have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them. (They all observe) the happiness I confer and the sufferings I inflict, and I cannot dare to reward virtue that does not exist.

“I have announced to you the difficulties (of the intended movement), being bent on it, like an archer (whose only thought is to hit). Do not you despise the old and experienced, and do not make little of the helpless and young. Seek every one long continuance in this (new city), which is to be your abode; exert yourselves and put out your strength (in furthering the removal), and listen to the plans of me, the One man. I will make no distinction between men as being more distantly or more nearly related to me;—the criminal (in this matter) shall die the death, and the good-doer shall have his virtue distinguished. The prosperity of the country (ought to) come from you all. If it fails of prosperity, that must arise from me, the One man, erring in the application of punishment. Be sure, all of you, to make known this announcement. From this time forward, attend respectfully to your business; have (the duties of) your offices regularly adjusted; bring your tongues under the rule of law;—lest punishment come upon you, when repentance will be of no avail.”



盘庚中

【原文】

1. 盘庚作，惟涉河以民迁。乃诰民之弗率，诞告用亶。其有众咸造，勿褻在王庭。盘庚乃登，进厥民。

曰：“明听朕言，无荒失朕命！呜呼！古我前后，罔不惟民之承保。后胥感鲜，以不浮于天时。殷降大虐，先王不怀厥攸作，视民利用迁。汝曷弗念我古后之闻？承汝俾汝惟喜康共，非汝有咎比于罚。予若吁怀兹新邑，亦惟汝故，以丕从厥志？

2. “今予将试以汝迁，安定厥邦。汝不忧朕心之攸困，乃咸大不

【今译】

1. 盘庚作了君主以后，计划渡过黄河带领臣民迁移。于是，集合了那些不服从的臣民，用至诚普告他们。那些民众都来了，旗帜在王庭飘扬。盘庚于是登上高处，招呼他们靠前一些。

盘庚说：“你们要听清楚我的话，不要忽视我的命令！啊！从前我们的先王，没有谁不想顺承和安定人民。君王清楚大臣也明白，因此没有被天灾所惩罚。从前上天盛降大灾，先王不安于自己所作的都邑，考察臣民的利益而迁徙。你们为什么不想想我们先王的这些传闻呢？我顺从你们喜欢安乐和稳定的心愿，不愿看到你们因过错而受到刑罚。我呼吁你们安居在这个新都，也是关心你们免遭祸灾，并且不也是远遵先王的意愿吗？

2. “现在我打算率领你们迁移，使国家安定。你们不体谅我内心



Pan-geng (II)

Pan-geng arose, and (was about to) cross the Huanghe River with the people, moving (to the new capital). Accordingly, he addressed himself to those of them who were (still) dissatisfied, and made a full announcement to their multitudes, to induce a sincere acquiescence (in the measure). They all attended, and (being charged) to take no liberties in the royal courtyard, he called them near, and said, " Listen clearly to my words, and do not disregard my commands. Oh ! of old time my royal predecessors cherished, every one and above every other thing, a respectful care of the people, who (again) upheld their sovereign with a mutual sympathy. Seldom was it that they were not superior to any (calamitous) time sent by Heaven. When great calamities came down on Yin, the former kings did not fondly remain in their place. What they did was with a view to the people ' s advantage, and therefore they moved (their capitals). Why do you not reflect that I, according to what I have heard of the ancient sovereigns, in my care of you and actings towards you, am only wishing to rejoice with you in a common repose ? It is not that any guilt attaches to you, so that (this movement) should be like a punishment. If I call upon you to cherish this new city, it is simply in your account, and as an act of great accordance with your wishes.

" My present undertaking to remove with you, is to give repose and stability to the country. You, (however,) have no sympa-



【原文】

宣乃心，钦念以忱动予一人。尔惟自鞠自苦，若乘舟，汝弗济，臭厥载。尔忱不属，惟胥以沉。不其或稽，自怒曷瘳？汝不谋长以思乃灾，汝诞劝忧。今其有今罔后，汝何生在上？

“今予命汝一，无起秽以自臭，恐人倚乃身，迂乃心。予迓续乃命于天，予岂汝威，用奉畜汝众。

3. “予念我先神后之劳尔先，予丕克羞尔用怀尔；然失于政，陈于兹，高后丕乃崇降罪疾，曰：‘曷虐朕民？’汝万民乃不生生，暨予一人猷同心，先后丕降与汝罪疾，曰：‘曷不暨朕幼孙有比？’故有爽

【今译】

的困苦，你们的心竟然都很不和顺，很想用些不正确的话来动摇我。你们自己搞得走投无路，自寻烦恼，譬如坐在船上，你们不渡过去，这将会把事情搞坏。你们诚心不合作，那就只有一起沉下去。不能协同一致，只是自己怨怒，又有什么好处呢？你们不作长久打算，不想想灾害，你们普遍安于现状。这样下去，将会有今天而没有明天了，你们怎么能生活在这个地面上呢？

“现在我命令你们同心同德，不要传播谣言来败坏自己，恐怕有人会使你们的身子不正，使你们心地歪邪。我向上天劝说延续你们的生命，我哪里是要故意恐吓你们啊，我是要帮助你们、养育你们众人。

3. “我想到我们神圣的先王曾经烦劳你们祖先，我才把使你们安定的意见贡献给你们；然而如果耽误了事，长久居住在这里，先王就会重重地降下罪责，问道：‘为什么虐待我的臣民？’你们万民如果不去谋生，不和我同心同德，先王也会对你们降下罪责，问道：‘为什么不同我的幼孙亲近友好？’因此，有了过错，上天就将惩罚你们，



thy with the anxieties of my mind; but you all keep a great reserve in declaring your minds, (when you might) respectfully think by your sincerity to move me, the One man. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. The case is like that of sailing in a boat;—if you do not cross the stream (at the proper time), you will destroy all the cargo. Your sincerity does not respond to mine, and we are in danger of going together to destruction. You, notwithstanding, will not examine the matter;—though you anger yourselves, what cure will that bring? You do not consult for a distant day, nor think of the calamity that must befall you (from not removing). You greatly encourage one another in what must prove to your sorrow. Now you have the present, but you will not have the future; what prolongation of life can you look for from above? My measures are forecast to prolong your (lease of) life from Heaven; do I force you by the terrors of my power? My object is to support and nourish you all.

“I think of my ancestors, (who are now) the spiritual sovereigns; when they made your forefathers toil (on similar occasions it was only for their good), and I would be enabled in the same way greatly to nourish you and cherish you. Were I to err in my government, and remain long here, my high sovereign, (the founder of our dynasty,) would send down on me great punishment for my crime, and say, ‘Why do you oppress my people?’ If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me, the One man, in my plans, the former kings will send down on you great punishment for your crime, and say, ‘Why do you not agree with our young grandson, but go on to forfeit your virtue?’ When they punish you from



【原文】

德，自上其罚汝，汝罔能迪。

“古我先后既劳乃祖乃父，汝共作我畜民，汝有戕则在乃心！我先后绥乃祖乃父，乃祖乃父乃断弃汝，不救乃死。兹予有乱政同位，具乃贝玉。乃祖乃父丕乃告我高后曰：‘作丕刑于朕孙！’迪高后丕乃崇降弗祥。

4. “呜呼！今予告汝：不易！永敬大恤，无胥绝远！汝分猷念以相从，各设中于乃心。乃有不吉不迪，颠越不恭，暂遇奸宄，我乃剿殄灭之，无遗育，无俾易种于兹新邑。

“往哉生生！今予将试以汝迁，永建乃家。”

【今译】

你们不能长久。

“从前我们的先王已经烦劳你们的祖先和父辈，你们都作为我养育的臣民，你们内心却又怀着恶念！我们的先王将会告诉你们的祖先和父辈，你们的祖先和父辈就会断然抛弃你们，不会挽救你们的死亡。现在若我有乱事的大臣，聚集财物。他们的祖先和父辈于是就会告诉我们的先王说：‘对我们的子孙用大刑吧！’于是，先王就会重重地降下刑罚。

4. “啊！现在我告诉你们：不要轻举妄动！要永远警惕大的忧患，不要互相疏远！你们应当考虑顺从我，各人心里都要和和善善。假如有人不善良，不走正道，违法不恭，欺诈奸邪，胡作非为，我就要断绝消灭他们，不留他们的后代，不让他们这些坏人在这个新国都里延续种族。

“去吧，去谋生吧！现在我将率领你们迁徙，永久建立你们的家园。”



above, you will have no way of escape.

"Of old, my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers toil (only for their good). You are equally the people whom I (wish to) cherish. But your conduct is injurious;—it is cherished in your hearts. Whereas my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers happy, they, your ancestors and fathers, will (now) cut you off and abandon you, and not save you from death. Here are those ministers of my government, who share with me in the offices (of the kingdom);—and yet they (only think of hoarding up) cowries and gems. Their ancestors and fathers earnestly represent (their course) to my high sovereign, saying, 'Execute great punishments on our descendants.' So do they advise my high sovereign to send down great calamities (on those men).

"Oh! I have now told you my unchangeable purpose;—do you perpetually respect (my) great anxiety; let us not get alienated and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts, and think (only) of following me; let every one of you set up the true rule of conduct in his heart. If there be bad and unprincipled men, precipitously or carelessly disrespectful (to my orders), and taking advantage of this brief season to play the part of villains or traitors, I will cut off their noses, or utterly exterminate them. I will leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this new city.

"Go! preserve and continue your lives. I will now transfer you (to the new capital), and (there) establish your families for ever."

盘庚下

【原文】

1. 盘庚既迁，奠厥攸居，乃正厥位，绥爰有众。

曰：“无戏怠，懋建大命！今予其敷心腹肾肠，历告尔百姓于朕志。罔罪尔众，尔无共怒，协比谗言予一人。

“古我先王将多于前功，适于山。用降我凶，德嘉绩于朕邦。今我民用荡析离居，罔有定极，尔谓朕曷震动万民以迁！肆上帝将复我高祖之德，乱越我家。朕及笃敬，恭承民命，用永地于新邑。肆予冲

【今译】

1. 盘庚迁都以后，定好住的地方，才决定宗庙朝廷的位置，然后告诫众人。

盘庚说：“不要戏乐、懒惰，应该努力关心民事，重兴国运。现在我诚心把我的意思告诉你们各位官员。我不会惩罚你们众人，你们也不要共同发怒，联合起来，毁谤我一个人。

“从前我们的先王想光大前人的功业，迁往山地。因此减少了洪水给我们的灾祸，造福了我邦。现在我们的臣民由于洪水汹涌奔腾而流离失所，没有固定的住处，你们反而问我为什么要惊动众人而迁徙！现在上帝要兴复我们高祖的美德，光大我们的国家。我急切、笃实、恭谨地遵从上帝的意志，率领你们长远居住在新都。所以我这个年轻人，不是敢于废弃你们的谋划，是要善于遵行上帝的意旨；不是





Pan-geng (III)

Pan-geng having completed the removal, and settled the places of residence, proceeded to adjust the several positions (of all classes at an assembly) ; and then he soothed and comforted the multitudes, saying to them, " Do not play nor be idle, but exert yourselves to build (here) a great destiny (for us) . Now I have disclosed my heart and belly, my reins and bowels, and fully declared to you, my people, all my mind. I will not treat any of you as offenders ; and do not you (any more) help one another to be angry, and form parties to defame me, the One man.

" Of old, my royal predecessor, (Tang,) that his merit might exceed that of those who were before him, proceeded to the hill-site^①. Thereby he removed our evils, and accomplished admirable good for our country. Now you, my people, were (by your position) dissipated and separated, so that you had no abiding place. (And yet) you asked why I was troubling your myriads and requiring you to remove. But God, being about to renew the virtuous service of my high ancestor, and secure the good order of our kingdom, I, with the sincere and respectful (of my ministers) , felt a reverent care for the lives of the people, and have made a lasting settlement in (this) new city. I, a youth, did not neglect your counsels ; I (on-ly) used the best of them. Nor did any of you presumptuously op-

^① It is supposed that this " hill-site " of Tang was the same as that which Pan-geng had fixed on, but this does not clearly appear in the text.



【原文】

人，非废厥谋，吊由灵各；非敢违卜，用宏兹赉。

2. “呜呼！邦伯师长百执事之人，尚皆隐哉！予其懋简相尔念敬我众。朕不肩好货，敢恭生生。鞠人谋人之保居，叙钦。今我既羞告尔于朕志若否，罔有弗钦！无总于货宝，生生自庸！式敷民德，永肩一心！”

【今译】

敢于违背卜兆，是要发扬光大上帝这一美好的指示。

2. “啊！各位诸侯、各位官长以及全体官员，你们都要考虑考虑啊！我将要尽力考察你们惦念尊重我们民众的情况。我不会任用贪财的人，只任用经营民生的人。对于那些能养育民众并能谋求他们安居的人，我将一一敬重他们。现在我已经把我心里的好恶告诉你们了，不要有不顺从的！不要聚敛财宝，要经营民生以自立功勋！要把恩惠施给民众，永远能够与民众同心！”



pose the decision of the tortoise-shell;—so we are here to enlarge our great inheritance.

“Oh! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye had a sympathy, (with my people)! I will exert myself in the choice and guiding of you; do ye think reverently of my multitudes. I will not employ those who are fond of enriching themselves; but will use and revere those who are vigorously, yet reverently, labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement. I have now brought forward and announced to you my mind, whom I approve and whom I disallow; let none of you but reverence (my will). Do not seek to accumulate wealth and precious things, but in fostering the life of the people, seek to find your merit. Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people. For ever maintain this one purpose in your hearts.”



说命上（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 王宅忧，亮阴三祀。既免丧，其惟弗言。群臣咸谏于王曰：“呜呼！知之曰明哲，明哲实作则。天子惟君万邦，百官承式。王言惟作命，不言，臣下罔攸禀令。”

王庸作书以诰曰：“以台正于四方，台恐德弗类，兹故弗言。恭默思道，梦帝赉予良弼，其代予言。”

乃审厥象，俾以形旁求于天下。说筑傅岩之野，惟肖。爰立作

【今译】

1. 高宗居父丧，已经三年。除丧以后，他还是不论政事。群臣都向王进谏说：“啊！通晓事理的叫做明哲，明哲的人实可制作法则。天子统治万邦，百官执行法则。王的话就是教命，王不说，臣下就无从接受教命。”

王因作书告谕群臣说：“要我做四方的表率，唯恐我的德行不好，所以不敢发言。我恭敬沉默思考治国的办法，梦见上帝赐给我一位贤良的辅佐，他将代替我发言。”

于是详细画出了他的形像，派遣人拿着图像到天下普遍寻找。傅



The Charge to Yue (I)

The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years^①, and when the period of mourning was over, he (still) did not speak (to give any commands). All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, " Oh ! him who is (the first) to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him. They are the king's words which form the commands (for them). If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders. " On this the king made a writing, for their information, to the following effect :— " As it is mine to serve as the director for the four quarters (of the kingdom), I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to (that of my predecessors), and therefore have not spoken. (But) while I was reverently and silently thinking of the (right) way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant who should speak for me. " He then minutely recalled the appearance (of the person whom he had seen), and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yue, a builder in the wild country of Fu-yan, was found like to it.

① A young king, mourning for his father, had to " afflict " himself in various ways for twenty-five months, nominally for three years. Among other privations, he had to exchange the comforts of a palace for a rough shed in one of the courtyard. During the time of mourning, the direction of affairs was left to the chief minister.



【原文】

相，王置诸其左右。

2. 命之曰：“朝夕纳诲，以辅台德！若金，用汝作砺；若济巨川，用汝作舟楫；若岁大旱，用汝作霖雨。启乃心，沃朕心！若药弗瞑眩，厥疾弗瘳；若跣弗视地，厥足用伤。惟暨乃僚，罔不同心以匡乃辟，俾率先王，迪我高后，以康兆民。

“呜呼！钦予时命，其惟有终！”

3. 说复于王曰：“惟木从绳则正，后从谏则圣。后克圣，臣不命其承，畴敢不祗若王之休命？”

【今译】

说在傅岩之野筑土，同图像相似。于是立他为相，王把他设置在左右。

2. 王命令他说：“请早晚进谏，以帮助我修德吧！我比如是铁器，要用你作磨石；比如渡大河，要用你作船和桨；比如年岁大旱，要用你作霖雨。敞开你的心泉来灌溉我的心吧！比如药物不猛烈，疾病就不会好；比如赤脚而不看路，脚因此会受伤。希望你和你的同僚，同心来匡正你的君主，使他依从先王，踏着成汤的足迹，来安定天下的人民。

“啊！重视我的这个命令，始终坚持做下去！”

3. 傅说答复说：“木依从绳墨砍削就会正直，君主依从谏言行事就会圣明。君主能够圣明，臣下不必等待教命就将承意进言，谁敢不恭敬顺从我王的美好教导呢？”



On this the king raised and made (Yue) his prime minister, keeping him (also) at his side.

He charged him, saying, "Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel;—I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream;—I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought;—I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. (Be you) like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. (Think of we) as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground. Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine;—so shall you bring your work to a (good) end."

Yue replied to the king, saying, "Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can (thus) make himself sage, his ministers, without being specially commanded, anticipate his orders—who would dare not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of Your Majesty?"



说命中（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 惟说命总百官，乃进于王曰：“呜呼！明王奉若天道，建邦设都，树后王君公，承以大夫师长，不惟逸豫，惟以乱民。惟天聪明，惟圣时宪，惟臣钦若，惟民从义。惟口起羞，惟甲冑起戎，惟衣裳在笥，惟干戈省厥躬。王惟戒兹！允兹克明，乃罔不休。

“惟治乱在庶官。官不及私昵，惟其能；爵罔及恶德，惟其贤。

【今译】

1. 傅说接受王命总理百官，于是向王进言说：“啊！古代明王顺从天道，建立邦国，设置都城，树立侯王君公，又以大夫众长辅佐他们，这不是为了逸乐，而是用来治理人民。上天聪明公正，圣主善于效法它，臣下敬顺它，人民就顺从治理了。号令轻出会引起羞辱；甲冑轻用会引起战争；衣裳放在箱子里不用来奖励，会损害自己；干戈藏在府库里不用来讨伐，会伤害自身。王应该警戒这些！这些真能明白，政治就无不美好了。

“治和乱在于众官。官职不可授予亲近，当授予能者；爵位不可赐给坏人，当赐给贤人。考虑妥善而后行动，行动又当适合时机。自



The Charge to Yue (II)

Yue having received his charge, and taken the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, "Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of states and the setting up of capitals, the appointing of sovereign kings, of dukes and other nobles, with their great officers and heads of departments, were not designed to minister to the idleness and pleasures (of one), but for the good government of the people. It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing;—let the sage (king) take it as his pattern. Then his ministers will reverently accord with him, and the people consequently will be well governed.

"It is the mouth that gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet that give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward should not be lightly taken from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in regard to these things, and, believing this about them, attain to the intelligent use of them, (your government) will in everything be excellent. Good government and bad depend on the various officers. Offices should not be given to men because they are favourites, but only to men of ability. Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth.

"Anxious thought about what will be best should precede



【原文】

虑善以动，动惟厥时。有其善，丧其善；矜其能，丧其功。惟事事，乃其有备，有备无患。无启宠纳侮，无耻过作非。惟厥攸居，政事惟醇。

“黷于祭祀，时谓弗钦。礼烦则乱，事神则难。”

2. 王曰：“旨哉！说。乃言惟服。乃不良于言，予罔闻于行。”

3. 说拜稽首，曰：“非知之艰，行之惟艰。王忱不艰，允协于先王成德；惟说不言，有厥咎。”

【今译】

恃自己有善行，就会失掉善行；夸自己有能力，就会失去成功。做事情，要有准备，有准备才没有后患。不要宠幸邪恶的小人，不让他们恃宠慢上，以至自取侮辱；不要因为耻于改过而文过饰非。这样思考所担任的事，政事就不会杂乱。

“轻慢对待祭祀，这叫不敬。礼仪过于烦琐就会乱，这样，事奉鬼神就难了。”

2. 王说：“好呀！传说。你的话应当实行。你如果不善于进言，我就不知道怎么做去了。”

3. 传说跪拜叩头，说道：“不是知道它艰难，而是实行它很难。王诚心不以实行为难，就真合于先王的盛德；我传说如果不说，就有罪过了。”



your movements, which also should be taken at the time proper for them. Indulging the consciousness of being good is the way to lose that goodness; being vain of one's ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.

"For all affairs let there be adequate preparation;—with preparation there will be no calamitous issue. Do not open the door for favourites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and (go on to) make them crimes. Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure. Officiousness in sacrificing is called irreverence; and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder. To serve the spirits acceptably (in this way) is difficult."

The king said, "Excellent! your words, O Yue, should indeed be put in practice (by me). If you were not so good in counsel, I should not have heard these rules for my conduct." Yue did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, "It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. (But) since Your Majesty truly knows this, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to our first king. Wherein I, Yue, refrain from speaking (what I ought to speak), the blame will rest with me."



说命下（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 王曰：“来！汝说。台小子旧学于甘盘，既乃遁于荒野，入宅于河，自河徂亳，暨厥终罔显。尔惟训于朕志，若作酒醴，尔惟曲蘖；若作和羹，尔惟盐梅。尔交修予，罔予弃；予惟克迈乃训。”

2. 说曰：“王！人求多闻，时惟建事。学于古训乃有获；事不师古，以克永世，匪说攸闻。惟学逊志，务时敏，厥修乃来。允怀于兹，道积于厥躬。惟教学半，念终始典于学，厥德修罔觉。监于先王

【今译】

1. 王说：“来呀！你传说。我旧时候向甘盘学习过，不久就废学避到荒野，入居于河洲，又从河洲回到亳都，直到后来在学习上没有显著进展。你当顺从我想学的志愿，比如做甜酒，你就做曲蘖；比如作羹汤，你就做盐和梅。你要多方指正我，不要抛弃我；我当能够履行你的教导。”

2. 传说说：“王！人们要求增多知识，这是想建立事业。要学习古训，才会有得；建立事业不效法古训，而能长治久安的，这不是我传说所知道的。学习要虚心谦逊，务必时刻努力，所学才能增长。相信和记住这些，道德在自己身上将积累增多。教与学是互相促进的，教人是学习的一半，始终一心扑在学习上，道德的增长就会不知不觉



The Charge to Yue (III)

The king said, "Come, O Yue. I, the little one, first learned with Gan Pan. Afterwards I lived concealed among the rude countrymen, and then I went to (the country) inside Huanghe River, and lived there^①. From Huanghe River I went to Bo; and the result has been that I am unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits, as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Use various methods to cultivate me; do not cast me away—so shall I attain to practise your instructions. "

Yue said, "O king, a ruler should seek to learn much (from his ministers), with a view to establish his affairs; but to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard. In learning there should be a humble mind and the maintenance of a constant earnestness;—in such a case (the learner's) improvement will surely come. He who sincerely cherishes these things will find all truth accumulating in his person. Teaching is the half of learning; when a man's thoughts from first to last are constantly fixed on learning, his virtuous cultivation comes unperceived.

① We do not know the events of Wu-ding's early life sufficiently to explain his language here. His living concealed among the rude people of the country, and then crossing to the north of Huanghe River, was owing probably to troubles in the Kingdom.



【原文】

成宪，其永无愆。惟说式克钦承，旁招俊乂，列于庶位。”

3. 王曰：“呜呼！说。四海之内咸仰朕德，时乃风。股肱惟人，良臣惟圣。昔先正保衡作我先王，乃曰：予弗克俾厥后惟尧舜，其心愧耻，若挹于市。一夫不获，则曰：时予之辜。佑我烈祖，格于皇天，尔尚明保予，罔俾阿衡专美有商。惟后非贤不乂，惟贤非后不食。其尔克绍乃辟于先王，永绥民。”

4. 说拜稽首，曰：“敢对扬天子之休命！”

【今译】

了。借鉴先王的成法，将永久没有失误。我传说因此能够敬承你的意旨，广求贤俊，把他们安排在各种职位上。”

3. 王说：“啊！传说。天下的人都敬仰我的德行，是你的教化所致。手足具备才能成人，良臣具备就是圣君。从前先贤伊尹使我的先王兴起，他这样说：我不能使我的君王做尧舜，我心惭愧耻辱，好比在闹市受到鞭打一样。一人不得其所，他就说：这是我的罪过。他辅助我的列祖成汤受到皇天赞美。你要勉力扶持我，不要让伊尹专美于我商家！君主得不到贤人就不会治理，贤人得不到君主就不会被录用。你要能让你的君主继承先王，长久安定人民。”

4. 传说跪拜叩头，说：“请让我用实际行来回答并宣扬天子的美好教导！”



“Survey the perfect pattern of our first king;—so shall you for ever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices.”

The king said, “Oh! Yue, that all within the four seas look up to my virtue is owing to you. As his legs and arms form the man, so does a good minister form the sage (king). Formerly, there was the first premier of our dynasty, Bao-heng, who raised up and formed its royal founder. He said, ‘If I cannot make my sovereign like Yao or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market-place.’ If any common man did not get (all he should desire), he said, ‘It is my fault.’ (Thus) he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to great Heaven. Do you give your intelligent and preserving aid to me, and let not A-heng engross all the good service to the House of Shang.

“The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy officers. The worthy officer should accept his support from none but the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your sovereign a (true) successor of the founder of his line, and in securing the lasting happiness of the people!”

Yue did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, “I will venture to respond to and display abroad, Your Majesty’s excellent charge.”



高宗彤日

【原文】

1. 高宗彤日，越有雉雉。祖己曰：“惟先格王，正厥事。”乃训于王。
2. 曰：“惟天监下民，典厥义。降年有永有不永，非夭民，民中绝命。民有不若德，不听罪。天既孚命正厥德，乃曰其如台！”
3. “呜呼！王司敬民，罔非天胤，典祀无丰于昵！”

【今译】

1. 祖庚又祭高宗的那一天，有一只野鸡在鼎耳上鸣叫。祖己说：“要先宽解君王的心不要害怕，先把祭礼办好。”于是开导祖庚。
2. 祖己说：“上天监视下民，赞美他们合宜行事。上天赐给人的年寿有长有短，并不是上天使人夭折，而是有些人自己断绝自己的性命。有些人有不好的品德，有不顺从天意的罪过。上天已经发出命令纠正他们不好的品德，可是有人说能把我怎么样！”
3. “啊！先王继承帝位被百姓敬重，无非都是老天的后代，在祭祀的时候，不可怠慢远祖而独厚近亲啊！”



The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice to Gao Zong

On the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Gao Zong, there appeared a crowing pheasant^①. Zu Ji said, "To rectify this affair, the king must first be corrected." He delivered accordingly a lesson to the king, saying, "In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness, and it bestows on them (accordingly) length of years or the contrary. It is not Heaven that cuts short men's lives;—they bring them to an end themselves. Some men who have not complied with virtue will yet not acknowledge their offences, and when Heaven has by evident tokens charged them to correct their conduct, they still say, 'What are these things to us?'

Oh! our Majesty's business is to care reverently for the people. And all (your ancestors) were the heirs of (the kingdom by the gift of Heaven;—in attending to the sacrifices (to them), be not so excessive in those to your father."

① Sima Qian, after the prefatory notice, says that the pheasant sat on the ear—one of the handles—of a tripod.



西伯戡黎

【原文】

1. 西伯既戡黎，祖伊恐，奔告于王。

2. 曰：“天子！天既讫我殷命。格人元龟，罔敢知吉。非先王不相我后人，惟王淫戏用自绝。故天弃我，不有康食。不虞天性，不迪率典。今我民罔弗欲丧，曰：‘天曷不降威？’大命不挚，今王其如台？”

3. 王曰：“呜呼！我生不有命在天？”祖伊反曰：“呜呼！乃罪多，参在上，乃能责命于天？殷之即丧，指乃功，不无戮于尔邦！”

【今译】

1. 周文王打败了黎国以后，祖伊恐慌，跑来告诉纣王。

2. 祖伊说：“天子，天意恐怕要终止我们殷商的国运了！贤人和神龟都不能觉察出吉兆。不是先王不扶助我们后人，而是大王淫荡嬉戏自绝于天。所以上天将抛弃我们，不让我们得到安稳饭食。大王不揣度天性，不遵循法度。如今百姓没有谁不希望大王灭亡，他们说：‘老天为什么不降威罚呢？’天命不再归向我們了，现在大王将要怎么办呢？”

3. 纣王说：“啊哈！我的一生不有福命在天吗？”

祖伊反驳说：“唉！您的过失很多，高高在上，难道还能向上天祈求福命吗？殷商行将灭亡，指出您的所作所为，不要毁灭了您的国家！”



The Chief of the West's Conquest of Li

The Chief of the West having subdued Li, Zu Yi was afraid, and hastened to report it to the king. He said, "Son of Heaven, Heaven is bringing to an end the dynasty of Yin; the wisest men and the shell of the great tortoise do not presume to know anything fortunate for it. It is not that the former kings do not aid us, the men of this later time but by your dissoluteness and sport you are bringing on the end yourself. On this account Heaven has cast us off, and there are no good harvests to supply us with food. Men have no regard to their heavenly nature, and pay no obedience to the statutes (of the kingdom). (Yea,) our people now all wish (the dynasty) to perish, saying, 'Why does not Heaven send down its indignation? Why does not (some one with) its great appointment make his appearance? What has the present king to do with us?'"

The king said, "Oh! was not my birth in accordance with the appointment of Heaven (in favour of my House)?" (On this) Zu Yi returned (to his own city), and said, "Your crimes, which are many, are registered above, and can you still appeal to the appointment of Heaven in your favour? Yin will perish very shortly. As to all your deeds, can they but bring ruin on your country?"

微 子

【原文】

1. 微子若曰：“父师、少师！殷其弗或乱正四方。我祖底遂陈于上，我用沉酗于酒，用乱败厥德于下。殷罔不小大好草窃奸宄，卿士师师非度。凡有罪辜，乃罔恒获，小民方兴，相为敌讎。今殷其沦丧，若涉大水，其无津涯。殷遂丧，越至于今！”

曰：“父师，少师，我其发出狂？吾家毫逊于荒？今尔无指告，予罔济，若之何其？”

2. 父师若曰：“王子！天毒降灾荒殷邦，方兴沉酗于酒，乃罔畏

【今译】

1. 微子这样说：“父师、少师！殷商恐怕不能治理好天下了。我们的先祖成汤制定了常法在先，而纣王沉醉在酒中，因淫乱而败坏成汤的美德于地下。殷商的大小臣民无不抢夺偷盗、犯法作乱，官员们都违反法度。凡是有罪的人，竟没有常法，小百姓一齐起来，同我们结成仇敌。现在殷商恐怕要灭亡了，就好像要渡过大河，几乎找不到渡口和河岸。殷商法度丧亡，竟到了这个地步！”

微子说：“父师、少师，我是出走呢，还是盲目地随着我们王朝同归覆亡呢？现在你们不指点我，殷商就会灭亡，怎么办啊？”

2. 父师这样说：“王子！老天降大灾要灭亡我们殷商，而君臣上





The Count of Wei

The Count of Wei spoke to the following effect:—"Grand-Master and Junior-Master^①, (the House of) Yin, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters (of the kingdom). The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our maddened indulgence in spirits, we have destroyed (the effects of) his virtue in these after-times. (The people of) Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws, and there is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The smaller people (consequently) rise up, and commit violent outrages on one another. Yin is now sinking in ruin;—its condition is like that of one crossing a stream, who can find neither ford nor bank. That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present pace!"

He added, "Grand-Master and Junior-Master, we are manifesting insanity. The most venerable members of our families are withdrawn to the wilds; and you indicate no course (to be taken), but (only) tell me of the impending ruin;—what is to be done?"

The Grand-Master made about the following reply:—"O son of our (former) king, Heaven in anger is sending down calamities,

① For high ministers with these titles under the Zhou Dynasty. The individuals whom the count of Wei consulted were probably the count of Ji and Bi-gan, who are classed with him in the confucian Analects, XVIII, I.



【原文】

畏，咈其耆长旧有位人。今殷民乃攘窃神祇之牺牲牲用以容，将食无灾。降监殷民，用乂讎斂，召敌讎不怠。罪合于一，多瘠罔诏。

“商今其有灾，我兴受其败；商其沦丧，我罔为臣仆。诏王子出迪。我旧云刻子、王子弗出，我乃颠隰。自靖！人自献于先王，我不顾，行遁。”

【今译】

下沉醉在酒中，却不惧怕老天的威力，违背年高德劭的旧时大臣。现在，臣民竟然偷盗祭祀天地神灵的牲畜和祭器，把它们藏起来，或是饲养，或是吃掉，都没有罪。再向下看看纣王怎样对待殷民，他们用杀戮和重刑横征暴敛，招致民怨也不放宽。罪人聚合在一起，众多的受害者无处申诉。

“殷商现在或许会有灾祸呢，要轮到我们一起承受灾难；殷商或许会灭亡呢，我不做敌人的奴隶。告诉你，王子，按我过去对箕子说过的话，你还是出走吧，要是不走，我们大家都要完蛋。自己拿定主意吧！人人各自报答先王，我不再顾虑了，将要出走。”



and wasting the country of Yin. Hence has arisen that mad indulgence in spirits. (The king) has no reverence for things which he ought to reverence but does despite to the venerable aged, the men who have long been in office. The people of Yin will now steal even the pure and perfect victims devoted to the spirits of heaven and earth; and their conduct is connived at, and though they proceed to eat the victims, they suffer no punishment. (On the other hand,) when I look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods by which they are governed are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred;—and this without ceasing. Such crimes equally belong to all in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to appeal. Now is the time of Shang's calamity;—I will arise and share in its ruin. When ruin overtakes Shang, I will not be the servant (of another House). (But) I tell you, O king's son, to go away, as being the course (for you). Formerly I injured you by what I said; if you do not (now) go away, our (sacrifices) will entirely perish. Let us rest quietly (in our several parts), and each present himself to the former kings (as having done so). I do not think of making my escape. ”



泰誓上（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 惟十有三年春，大会于孟津。

王曰：“嗟！我友邦冢君，越我御事庶士，明听誓。惟天地万物父母，惟人万物之灵。亶聪明作元后，元后作民父母。

“今商王受弗敬上天，降灾下民。沉湎冒色，敢行暴虐，罪人以族，官人以世。惟宫室、台榭、陂池、侈服，以残害于尔万姓。

“焚炙忠良，剝剔孕妇。皇天震怒，命我文考肃将天威，大勋未集。肆予小子发，以尔友邦冢君观政于商，惟受罔有悛心，乃夷居，

【今译】

1. 周武王十三年春天，诸侯大会于河南孟津。武王说：“啊！我的友邦大君和我的治事大臣、众士们，请清楚地听取我的誓言。天地是万物的父母，人是万物中的灵秀。真聪明的人就作大君，大君作人民的父母。

“现在商王受不尊敬上天，降祸灾给下民。他嗜酒贪色，敢于施行暴虐，用灭族的严刑惩罚人，凭世袭的方法任用人。宫室呀，台榭呀，陂池呀，奢侈的衣服呀，他大肆挥霍民财，残害你们万姓人民。

“他烧杀忠良，解剖孕妇。皇天动了怒，命令文王严肃进行上天的惩罚，可惜大功没有完成。从前我小子姬发和你们友邦大君到商邦



The Great Declaration (I)

In the spring of the thirteenth year^① there was a great assembly at Meng-jin. The king said, "Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states, and all ye my officers, managers of my affairs, hearken clearly to my declaration.

"Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed. The sincerely intelligent (among men) becomes the great sovereign; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people. But now, Shou, the king of Shang, does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the people below. Abandoned to drunkenness and reckless in lust, he has dared to exercise cruel oppression. He has extended the punishment of offenders to all their relatives. He has put men into offices on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances, to the most painful injury of you, the myriads of the people. He has burned and roasted the loyal and good. He has ripped up pregnant women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wen to display its terrors; but (he died) before the work was completed.

"On this account, I, Fa, the little child, have by means of you, the hereditary rulers of my friendly states, contemplated the

① The thirteenth year is reckoned from King Wu's succeeding to his father as "the Chief of the West".



【原文】

弗事上帝神祇，遗厥先宗庙弗祀。牺牲粢盛，既于凶盗。乃曰：‘吾有民有命！’罔惩其侮。

2. “天佑下民，作之君，作之师，惟其克相上帝，宠绥四方。有罪无罪，予曷敢有越厥志？同力度德，同德度义。受有臣亿万，惟亿万心；予有臣三千，惟一心。商罪贯盈，天命诛之；予弗顺天，厥罪惟钧。

“予小子夙夜祇惧。受命文考，类于上帝，宜于冢土，以尔有众，底天之罚。天矜于民，民之所欲，天必从之，尔尚弼予一人，永清四海。时哉，弗可失！”

【今译】

考察政治，看到了商受没有悔改的心，他竟然傲慢不恭，不祭祀上帝神祇，遗弃他的祖先宗庙而不祭祀。牺牲和粢盛等祭物，也被凶恶盗窃的人吃尽了。他却说：‘我有人民有天命！’不改变他侮慢的心意。

2. “上天帮助下民，为人民建立君主和师长，应当能够辅助上帝，爱护和安定天下。究竟有罪和无罪上天看得清楚，有罪就得执行天罚，我怎么敢违反上天的意志呢？力量相同就衡量德，德相同就衡量义。商受有臣亿万，是亿万条心，我有臣子三千，只是一条心。商纣的罪恶，像穿物的串子已经穿满了，上天命令我讨伐他；我如果不顺从上天，我的罪恶就会跟商纣相等。

“我小子早晚敬慎忧惧。在文考庙接受了伐商的命令，我又祭告上帝，祭祀大社，于是率领你们众位，进行上天的惩罚。上天怜悯人民，人民的愿望，上天一定会依从的。你们辅助我吧！要使四海之内永远清明。时机啊，不可失去呀！”



government of Shang; but Shou has no repentant heart. He sits squatting on his heels, not serving God nor the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors, and not sacrificing in it. The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers, and still he says, 'The people are mine; the (heavenly) appointment is mine.' Never trying to correct his contemptuous mind.

"Heaven, for the help of the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters (of the kingdom). In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes?

" 'Where the strength is the same, measure the virtue of the parties; where the virtue is the same, measure their righteousness.' Shou has hundreds of thousands and myriads of officers, but they have hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds; I have (but) three thousand officers, but they have one mind. The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not obey Heaven, my iniquity would be as great.

"I, the little child, early and late am filled with apprehensions. I have received the command of my deceased father Wen; I have offered special sacrifice to God; I have performed the due services to the great earth; and I lead the multitude of you to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to. Do you aid me, the One man, to cleanse for ever (all within) the four seas. Now is the time! —It should not be lost."



泰誓中（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 惟戊午，王次于河朔，群后以师毕会。王乃徇师而誓。

曰：“呜呼！西土有众，咸听朕言。我闻吉人为善，惟日不足；凶人为不善，亦惟日不足。今商王受力行无度，播弃犁老，昵比罪人，淫酗肆虐。臣下化之，朋家作仇，胁权相灭。无辜吁天，秽德彰闻。

2. “惟天惠民，惟辟奉天。有夏桀弗克若天，流毒下国。天乃佑命成汤，降黜夏命。惟受罪浮于桀，剥丧元良，贼虐谏辅，谓己有夭

【今译】

1. 戊午日，周武王驻兵在黄河之北，诸侯率领他们的军队都会合了。武王于是巡视军队并且告诫他们。

武王说：“啊！西方各位诸侯，请都听我的话。我听说好人做好事，整天地做还是时间不够；坏人做坏事，也是整天地做还是时间不够。现在商王受，力行不合法度的事，放弃年老的大臣，亲近有罪的人，过度嗜酒，放肆暴虐。臣下也受到他的影响，各结朋党，互为仇敌；挟持权柄，互相诛杀。无罪的人呼天告冤，秽恶的行为公开传闻。

2. “上天惠爱人民，君主遵奉上天。夏桀不能顺从天意，流毒于天下。上天于是佑助和命令成汤，使他降下废黜夏桀的命令。受的罪恶超过了夏桀，他伤害善良的大臣，杀戮谏争的辅佐，说自己有夭



The Great Declaration (II)

On(the day) Wu-wu, the king halted on the north of the Huanghe River. When all the princes with their hosts were assembled, the king reviewed the hosts, and made the following declaration:—"Oh! ye multitudes of the west, hearken all to my words.

"I have heard that the good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient; and that the evil man, doing evil, also finds the day insufficient. Now Shou, the king of Shang, with strength pursues his lawless way. He has driven away the timeworn sires, and cultivates intimacies with wicked men. Dissolute, intemperate, reckless, oppressive, his ministers have become assimilated to him; and they form combinations and contract animosities, and depend on their power to exterminate one another. The innocent cry to Heaven. The odour of such a state is felt on high.

"Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverently carry out(this mind of) Heaven. Jie, the sovereign of Xia, would not follow the example of Heaven, but sent forth his poisonous injuries through the states of the kingdom:—Heaven therefore gave its aid to Tang the Successful, and charged him to make an end of the appointment of Xia. But the crimes of Shou exceed those of Jie. He has degraded from office the greatly good man^①; he has behaved with cruel tyranny to his reprover and helper^②. He says that

① The count of Wei.

② Bi-gan.



【原文】

命，谓敬不足行，谓祭无益，谓暴无伤。厥鉴惟不远，在彼夏王。天其以予乂民，朕梦协朕卜，袭于休祥，戎商必克。受有亿兆夷人，离心离德；予有乱臣十人，同心同德。虽有周亲，不如仁人。

3. “天视自我民视，天听自我民听。百姓有过，在予一人，今朕必往。

“我武惟扬，侵于之疆，取彼凶残；我伐用张，于汤有光！”

“勗哉夫子！罔或无畏，宁执非敌。百姓懍懍，若崩厥角。呜呼！乃一德一心，立定厥功，惟克永世。”

【今译】

命，说敬天不值得实行，说祭祀没有益处，说暴虐没有害处。他的鉴戒并不远，就在夏桀身上。上天该使我治理人民，我的梦符合我的卜兆，吉庆重叠出现，讨伐商国一定会胜利。商受有亿兆平民，都离心离德；我有拨乱的大臣十人，都同心同德。受虽有至亲的臣子，比不上我周家的仁人。

3. “上天的看法，出自我们人民的看法，上天的听闻，出自我们人民的听闻。老百姓有所责难于我，我一定要依从民意前往讨伐。

“我们的武力要发扬，要攻到商国的疆土上，捉到那些残暴之徒；我们的讨伐要进行，这个事业比成汤的代桀的事业还辉煌呀！”

“努力吧！将士们。不可出现不威武的情况，宁愿你们保持没有对手的思想。百姓危惧不安，他们向我们叩头求助，额角响得就像山崩一样呀！啊！你们要一心一德建功立业，就能够长久安定人民。”



with him is the appointment of Heaven; he says that a reverent care of his conduct is not worth observing; he says that sacrifice is of no use; he says that tyranny is no harm. The beacon for him to look to was not far off;—it was that king of Xia. It would seem that Heaven is going by means of me to rule the people. My dreams coincide with my divinations; the auspicious omen is double. My attack on Shang must succeed.

“Shou has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, divided in heart and, divided in practice;—I have of ministers, able to govern, ten men^①, one in heart and one in practice. Though he has his nearest relatives with him, they are not like my virtuous men. Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear. The people are blaming me, the One man, for my delay;—I must now go forward. My military prowess is displayed, and I enter his territories to take the wicked tyrant. My punishment (of evil) will be great, and more glorious than that executed by Tang. Rouse ye, my heroes! Do not think that he is not to be feared;—better think that he cannot be withstood. (His) people stand in trembling awe of him, as if the horns were falling from their heads. Oh! unite your energies, unite your hearts;—so shall you forthwith surely accomplish the work, to last for all ages!”

^① Confucius tells us, in the *Analects*, VIII, XX, that one of these ten was a woman; but whether the lady was Wu's wife or mother is disputed.



泰誓下（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 时厥明，王乃大巡六师，明誓众士。王曰：“呜呼！我西土君子。天有显道，厥类惟彰。今商王受狎侮五常，荒怠弗敬，自绝于天，结怨于民。斲朝涉之胫，剖贤人之心，作威杀戮，毒痛四海。崇信奸回，放黜师保，屏弃典刑，囚奴正士。郊社不修，宗庙不享，作奇技淫巧以悦妇人。上帝不顺，祝降时丧。尔其孜孜奉予一人，恭行

【今译】

1. 时在戊午誓师的第二天，周武王大规模巡视六军，明告众将士。王说：“啊！我们西方的将士。上天有明显的道理，它为善得福为恶取祸的法则应当显扬。现在商王纣轻慢五常，荒废怠惰无所敬畏，自己弃绝于上天，结怨于人民。斫掉冬天清晨涉水者的脚胫，剖开贤人的心，作威作恶，杀戮无罪的人，毒害天下，崇信奸邪的人，逐退师保大臣，抛弃常刑使用酷刑，囚禁和奴役正士。祭天祭社的大礼不举行，宗庙也不享祀。造作奇技荒淫新巧的事物来取悦妇人。上帝不



The Great Declaration(III)

The time was on the morrow, when the king went round his six hosts in state, and made a clear declaration to all his officers. He said, "Oh! my valiant men of the west, from Heaven are the illustrious courses of duty, of which the (several) requirements are quite plain. And now Shang, the king of Shang, treats with contemptuous slight the five regular (virtues), and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people.

"He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading, in the morning^①; he cut out the heart of the worthy man^②. By the use of his power, killing, and murdering, he has poisoned and sickened all within the four seas. His honours and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He has imprisoned and enslaved the upright officer. He neglects the sacrifices to heaven and earth. He has discontinued the offerings in the ancestral temple. He makes contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary cunning to please his wife^③. —God will no longer indulge him, but with a curse is sending down on him

① This was in winter. Observing some people then wading through a stream, Zhou-xin caused their legs to be cut through at the shank-bone, that he might see their marrow.

② Bi-gan.

③ The notorious Da Ji, the accounts of whose shameless wickedness and atrocious cruelties almost exceed belief.



【原文】

天罚！

2. “古人有言曰：‘抚我则后，虐我则仇。’独夫受洪惟作威，乃汝世仇。树德务滋，除恶务本，肆予小子诞以尔众士，殄歼乃讎。尔众士其尚迪果毅以登乃辟！功多有厚赏，不迪有显戮。”

“呜呼！惟我文考若日月之照临，光于四方，显于西土，惟我有周诞受多方。予克受，非予武，惟朕文考无罪；受克予，非朕文考有罪，惟予小子无良。”

【今译】

依，断然降下这种丧亡的大罚。你们要努力帮助我，奉行上天的惩罚！

2. “古人有言说：‘抚爱我的就是君主，虐待我的就是仇敌。’独夫商纣大行威虐，是你们的大仇。建立美德务求滋长，去掉邪恶务求除根，所以我小子率领你们众将士去歼灭你们的仇人。你们众将士要用果敢坚毅的精神来成就你们的君主！功劳多的将有重赏，畏缩不前的将有明显的惩罚。”

“啊！我文考文王的明德，像日月的照临一样，光辉普及四方，显著表现在西土，因此我们周国特别被众方诸侯所亲近。这次如果我战胜了纣，不是我勇武，是因为我的先父文王没有过失；如果纣战胜了我，不是我先父文王有过失，是因为我这小子不好。”



this ruin. Do ye with untiring zeal support me, the One man, reverently to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. The ancients have said, 'He who soothes us is our sovereign; he who oppresses us is our enemy.' This solitary fellow Shou, having exercised great tyranny, is your perpetual enemy. (It is said again,) 'In planting (a man's) virtue, strive to make it great; in putting away (a man's) wickedness, strive to do it from the roots.' Here I, the little child, by the powerful help of you, all my officers, will utterly exterminate your enemy. Do you, all my officers, march forward with determined boldness to sustain your prince. Where there is much merit, there shall be large reward; where you do not so advance, there shall be conspicuous disgrace.

"Oh! (the virtue of) my deceased father Wen was like the shining of the sun and moon. His brightness extended over the four quarters of the land, and shone signally in the western region. Hence it is that our Zhou has received (the allegiance of) many states. If I subdue Shou, it will not be from my prowess but from the faultless (virtue of) my deceased father Wen. If Shou should subdue me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wen, but because I, the little child, am not good."

周 书

牧 誓

【原文】

1. 时甲子昧爽，王朝至于商郊牧野，乃誓。王左杖黄钺，右秉白旄以麾，曰：“逖矣，西土之人！”王曰：“嗟！我友邦冢君、御事，司徒、司马、司空，亚旅、师氏，千夫长、百夫长，及庸、蜀、羌、鬲、微、卢、彭、濮人。称尔戈，比尔干，立尔矛，予其誓。”

2. 王曰：“古人有言曰：‘牝鸡无晨；牝鸡之晨，惟家之索。’今商王受惟妇言是用，昏弃厥肆祀弗答，昏弃厥遗王父母弟不迪，乃惟

【今译】

1. 在甲子日的黎明时刻，周武王率领军队来到商国都城郊外的牧野，于是誓师。武王左手拿着黄色大斧，右手拿着白色旄牛尾指挥，说：“远劳了，西土远来的人们！”武王说：“啊！我们友邦的国君和办事的大臣，司徒、司马、司空，亚旅、师氏，千夫长、百夫长，以及庸、蜀、羌、鬲、微、卢、彭、濮的人们，举起你们的戈，排列好你们的盾，竖起你们的矛，我要宣誓了。”

2. 武王说：“古人有话说：‘母鸡没有早晨啼叫的；如果母鸡在早晨啼叫，这个人家就会衰落。’现在商王纣只是听信妇人的话，抛弃对祖宗的祭祀不问，轻视并遗弃他先王遗下的兄弟不用，竟然只对四





Books of Zhou

The Speech at Mu

The time was the grey dawn of the day Jia-zi. On that morning the king came to the open country of Mu, in the borders of Shang, and addressed his army. In his left hand he carried a battle-axe yellow with gold, and in his right he held a white ensign, which he waved, saying, "Far are ye come, ye men of the western region!" He added, "Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states; ye managers of affairs,—the Ministers of Instruction, of War, and of Works; the great officers subordinate to these, and the many other officers; the master of my body-guards; the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds; and ye, O men of Yong, Shu, Qiang, Mao, Wei, Lu, Peng, and Pu^①, lift up your lances, join your shields, raise your spears:—I have a speech to make."

The king (then) said, "The ancients have said, 'The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning (indicates) the subversion of the family.' Now Shou, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. In his blindness he has neglected the sacrifices which he ought to offer, and makes no response (for the favours that he has received); he has also cast off

① These are the names of eight different tribes or confederations of tribes of the south and west. We are to look for their sites in Sichuan, Yun-nan, and Hebei. They are, no doubt, an important portion of Wu's army, but only as auxiliaries. It is too much to ascribe, as some have done, the overthrow of Shang to an irruption of barbarous people from the West.



【原文】

四方之多罪逋逃，是崇是长，是信是使，是以为大夫卿士。俾暴虐于百姓，以奸宄于商邑。今予发惟恭行天之罚。今日之事，不愆于六步、七步，乃止齐焉。夫子勗哉！不愆于四伐、五伐、六伐、七伐，乃止齐焉。勗哉夫子！尚桓桓，如虎如貔，如熊如罴，于商郊。弗迓克奔以役西土，勗哉夫子！尔所弗勗，其于尔躬有戮！”

【今译】

方重罪逃亡的人，这样推崇，这样尊敬，这样信任，这样使用，用他们做大夫、卿士的官。使他们残暴地对待老百姓，在商国为非作歹。现在，我姬发奉行老天的惩罚职责。今天的战事，行军时，不超过六步、七步，就要停下来整齐一下。将士们，要努力啊！刺击时，不超过四次、五次、六次、七次，就要停下来整齐一下。努力吧，将士们！希望你们威武雄壮，像虎、貔、熊、罴一样，前往商都的郊外。不要禁止能够跑来投降的人，以便帮助我们周国。努力吧，将士们！你们如果不努力，定将受到诛戮！”



his paternal and maternal relations, not treating them properly. They are only the vagabonds from all quarters, loaded with crimes, whom he honours and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and high nobles, so that they can tyrannize over the people, and exercise their villainies in the cities of Shang.

“Now, I, Fa, am simply executing, respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven. In today’s business do not advance more than six or seven steps, and then stop and adjust your ranks;—my brave men, be energetic! Do not exceed four blows, five blows, six blows, or seven blows, and then stop and adjust your ranks;—my brave men, be energetic! Display a martial bearing. Be like tigers and panthers, like bears and grisly bears, (here) in the borders of Shang. Do not rush on those who fly (to us in submission), but receive them to serve our western land;—my brave men, be energetic! If you be not energetic (in all these matters), you will bring destruction on yourselves.”



武 成 (伪古文尚书)

【原文】

1、惟一月壬辰，旁死魄。越翼日癸巳，王朝步自周，于征伐商。厥四月哉生明，王来自商，至于丰。乃偃武修文，归马于华山之阳，放牛于桃林之野，示天下弗服。

丁未，祀于周庙，邦甸侯卫骏奔走，执豆笾。越三日庚戌，柴望，大告武成。

2、既生魄，庶邦冢君暨百工，受命于周。

王若曰：“呜呼！群后。惟先王建邦启土，公刘克笃前烈。至于

【今译】

1、一月壬辰日，月亮大部分无光。到明天癸巳日，武王早晨从周京出发，前往征伐殷国。四月间，月亮开始放出光辉，武王从商国归来，到了丰邑。于是停止武备，施行文教，把战马放归华山的南面，把牛放回桃林的旷野，向天下表示不用它们。

四月丁未日，武王在周庙举行祭祀，建国于甸服、侯服、卫服的诸侯都忙于奔走，陈设木豆、竹筴等祭器。到第三天庚戌日，举行柴祭来祭天，举行望祭来祭山川，大力宣告伐商武功的成就。

2、月亮已经生出光辉的时候，众国诸侯和百官都到周京来接受王命。

武王这样说：“啊！众位君侯。我的先王建立国家开辟疆土，公刘



The Successful Completion of the War

In the first month, the day Ren-chen immediately followed the end of the moon's waning. The next day was Gui-si, when the king, in the morning, marched from Zhou to attack and punish Shang. In the fourth month, at the first appearance of the moon, the king came from Shang to Feng^①, when he hushed all the movements of war, and proceeded to cultivate the arts of peace. He sent back his horses to the south of Mount Hua, and let loose his oxen in the open country of Tao-lin, showing to all under heaven that he would not use them (again).

On the day Ding-Wei, he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of Zhou, when (the princes) of the royal domain, and of the Dian, Hou, and Wei domains, all hurried about, carrying the dishes. The third day after was Geng-xu, when he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and worshipped towards the hills and rivers, solemnly announcing the successful completion of the war.

After the moon began to wane, the hereditary princes of the various states, and all the officers, received their appointments from Zhou.

The king spoke to the following effect:—"Oh! ye host of princes, the first of our kings founded his state, and commenced (the enlargement of) its territory. Gong Liu, was able to consoli-

① Zhou is, probably, Wu's capital, called Hao, about ten miles south of the present district city of Chang-an, and not quite so far from his father's capital of Feng. The river Feng ran between them.



【原文】

大王，肇基王迹，王季其勤王家。我文考文王，克成厥勋，诞膺天命，以抚方夏。大邦畏其力，小邦怀其德。惟九年，大统未集，予小子其承厥志。底商之罪，告于皇天后土、所过名山大川，曰：‘惟有道曾孙周王发，将有大正于商。今商王受无道，暴殄天物，害虐烝民。为天下逋逃主，萃渊薮。予小子既获仁人，敢祗承上帝，以遏乱略。华夏蛮貊罔不率俾。恭天成命，肆予东征，绥厥士女。惟其士女筐厥玄黄，昭我周王。天休震动，用附我大邑周！惟尔有神，尚克相予以济兆民，无作神羞！’”

【今译】

能修前人的功业。到了太王，开始经营王事。王季勤劳王家。我先父文王能够成就其功勋，大受天命，安抚四方和中夏。大国畏惧他的威力，小国怀念他的恩德。九年后文王去世，灭商的大业没有完成。我小子将继承他的意愿。我把商纣的罪恶，曾经向皇天后土以及所经过的名山大川禀告说：‘有道的曾孙周王姬发，对商国将有讨伐的行动。现在商王受残暴无道，弃绝天下百物，虐待众民。他是天下逃亡罪人的主人和隐藏坏人的窝子。我小子得到了仁人志士以后，冒昧地敬承上帝的意旨，以制止乱谋。华夏各族和蛮貊的人民，无不遵从。我奉了上天的美命，所以我向东征讨，安定那里的士女。那里的士女，用竹筐装着他们的黑色黄色的丝绸，求见我周王。他们被上天的休美震动了，因而归附了我大国周啊！你等神明能够帮助我，来救助亿万老百姓，我决不会使神明蒙羞！’”



date the services of his predecessor. But it was the king Tai who laid the foundations of the royal inheritance. The king Ji was diligent for the royal House; and my deceased father, king Wen, completed his merit, and grandly received the appointment of Heaven, to soothe the regions of our great land. The great states feared his strength; the small states thought fondly of his virtue. In nine years, however, the whole kingdom was not united under his rule, and it fell to me, the little child, to carry out his will.

"Detesting the crimes of Shang, I announced to great Heaven and the sovereign Earth, to the famous hill I and the great river by which I passed, saying, 'I, Fa, the principled, king of Zhou by a long descent, am about to administer a great correction to Shang. Shou, the present king of Shang, is without principle, cruel and destructive to the creatures of Heaven, injurious and tyrannical to the multitudes of the people, lord of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep, and beasts in the prairie. I, the little child, having obtained (the help of) virtuous men, presume reverently to comply with (the will of) God, and make an end of his disorderly ways. Our flowery, and great land, and the tribes of the south and north, equally follow and consent with me. Reverently obeying the determinate counsel of Heaven, I pursue my punitive work to the east, to give tranquillity to its men and women. They meet me with their baskets full of dark-coloured and yellow silks, thereby showing (the virtues) of us, the kings of Zhou. Heaven's favours stir them up, so that they come with their allegiance to our great state of Zhou. And now, ye spirits, grant me your aid, that I may relieve the millions of the people, and nothing turn out to your shame. ' "



【原文】

既戊午，师逾孟津。癸亥，陈于商郊，俟天休命。甲子昧爽，受率其旅若林，会于牧野。罔有敌于我师，前徒倒戈，攻于后以北，血流漂杵。一戎衣，天下大定。乃反商政，政由旧。释箕子囚，封比干墓，式商容闾。散鹿台之财，发钜桥之粟，大赉于四海，而万姓悦服。

3. 列爵惟五，分土惟三。建官惟贤，位事惟能。重民五教，惟食丧祭。惇信明义，崇德报功。垂拱而天下治。

【今译】

到了戊午日，军队渡过孟津。癸亥日，在商郊布好军阵，等待上天的美命。甲子日清早，商受率领他如林的军队，来到牧野会战。他的军队对我军没有抵抗，前面的士卒反戈向后面攻击，因而大败，血流之多简直可以漂起木杵。我军一举讨伐殷商，而天下大安了。我于是一反商王的恶政，一切按商先王的政策行事。解除箕子的囚禁，修治比干的坟墓，致敬于受贬的商贤人商容的门前。散发鹿台的财货，发放钜桥的粟，向四海施行大赏，天下万民都心悦诚服。

3. 武王设立爵位为五等，区分封地为三等。建立官长依据贤良，安置众吏依据才能。注重人民的五常之教和民食、丧葬、祭祀，重视诚信，讲明道义；崇重有德的，报答有功的。于是武王垂衣拱手而天下安治了。



On the day Wu-wu, the army crossed the ford of Meng, and on Gui-hai it was drawn up in array in the borders of Shang, waiting for the gracious decision of Heaven. On Jia-zi, at early dawn, Shou led forward his troops, (looking) like a forest, and assembled them in the wild of Mu. But they offered no opposition to our army. Those in the front inverted their spears, and attacked those behind them, till they fled; and the blood flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars. Thus did (king Wu) once don his armour, and the kingdom was grandly settled. He overturned the (existing) rule of Shang, and made government resume its old course. He delivered the count of Qi from prison, and raised a mound over the grave of Bi-gan. He bowed forward to the cross-bar of his carriage at the gate of Shang Rong's village. He dispersed the treasures of the Stag Tower, and distributed the grain of Ju-qiao, thus conferring great gifts on all within the four seas, so that the people joyfully submitted to him.

He arranged the nobles in five orders^①, assigning the territories to them according to a threefold scale. He gave offices only to the worthy, and employments only to the able. He attached great importance to the people's being taught the duties of the five relations of society, and to measures for ensuring a sufficient supply of food, attention to the rites of mourning, and to sacrifices. He showed the reality of his truthfulness, and proved clearly his righteousness. He honoured virtue, and rewarded merit. Then he had only to let his robes fall down, and fold his hands, and the kingdom was orderly ruled.

① Dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons.



洪 范

【原文】

1. 惟十有三祀，王访于箕子。王乃言曰：“呜呼！箕子，惟天阴鹭下民，相协厥居，我不知其彝伦攸叙。”

箕子乃言曰：“我闻在昔，鲧陞洪水，汨陈其五行。帝乃震怒，不畀洪范九畴，彝伦攸敶。鲧则殛死，禹乃嗣兴，天乃锡禹洪范九畴，彝伦攸叙。

“初一日五行，次二曰敬用五事，次三曰农用八政，次四曰协用

【今译】

1. 周文王十三年，武王询问箕子。武王就说道：“啊！箕子，上帝庇荫安定下民，使他们和睦相处，我不知道那治国常理所以能够有序的原由。”

箕子就回答说：“我听说从前，鲧堵塞洪水，胡乱处理了水、火、木、金、土五种用物。上帝震怒，不赐给鲧九种大法，治国的常理因此败坏了。后来，鲧被流放死了，禹继承兴起。上帝就把九种大法赐给了禹，治国的常理因此定了下来。

“第一是五行。第二是认真做好五事。第三是努力施行八种政务。



The Great Plan

In the thirteenth year, the king went to enquire of the count of Qi, and said to him, "Oh! count of Qi, Heaven, (working) unseen, secures the tranquillity of the lower people, aiding them to be in harmony with their condition^①. I do not know how the unvarying principles (of its method in doing so) should be set forth in due order. "

The count of Qi thereupon replied, "I have heard that in old time Gun dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements. God was consequently roused to anger, and did not give him the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and thus the unvarying principles (of Heaven's method) were allowed to go to ruin. Gun was therefore kept a prisoner till his death, and his son Yü rose up (and entered on the same undertaking). To him Heaven gave the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and the unvarying principles (of Heaven's method) were set forth in their due order.

"(Of those divisions) the first is called 'the five elements' ;

① Kong Ying-da of the Tang Dynasty says on this:—"The people have been produced by supreme Heaven, and both body and soul are Heaven's gift. Men have thus the material body and the knowing mind, and Heaven further assists them, helping them to harmonize their lives. The right and the wrong of their language, the correctness and errors of their conduct, their enjoyment of clothing and food, the rightness of their various movements;—all these things are to be harmonized by what they are endowed with by Heaven. "



【原文】

五纪，次五曰建用皇极，次六曰义用三德，次七曰明用稽疑，次八曰念用庶征，次九曰向用五福，威用六极。

2.1 “一、五行：一曰水，二曰火，三曰木，四曰金，五曰土。水曰润下，火曰炎上，木曰曲直，金曰从革，土爰稼穡。润下作咸，炎上作苦，曲直作酸，从革作辛，稼穡作甘。

2.2 “二、五事：一曰貌，二曰言，三曰视，四曰听，五曰思。貌曰恭，言曰从，视曰明，听曰聪，思曰睿。恭作肃，从作乂，明作哲，聪作谋，睿作圣。

2.3 “三、八政：一曰食，二曰货，三曰祀，四曰司空，五曰司

【今译】

第四是合用五种记时方法。第五是建立君王进行统治的准则。第六是使用三种品德的人进行治理。第七是尊用以卜筮考疑的方法。第八是经常注意使用各种征兆。第九是凭五福鼓励臣民，凭六极警戒臣民。

2.1 “一、五行：一是水，二是火，三是木，四是金，五是土。水向下润湿，火向上燃烧，木可以弯曲、伸直，金属可以顺从人意改变形状，土壤可以种植百谷。向下润湿的水产生咸味，向上燃烧的火产生苦味，可曲可直的木产生酸味，顺从人意而改变形状的金属产生辣味，种植的百谷产生甜味。

2.2 “二、五事：一是容貌，二是言论，三是观察，四是听闻，五是思考。容貌要恭敬，言论要正当，观察要明白，听闻要广远，思考要通达。容貌恭敬就能严肃；言论正当就能治理；看问题清晰，就有智者风范；听闻广远就能善谋；思考通达就能圣明。

2.3 “三、八种政务：一是管理民食，二是管理财货，三是管理



the second, 'reverent attention to the five (personal) matters'; the third, 'earnest devotion to the eight (objects of) government'; the fourth, 'the harmonious use of the five dividers of time'; the fifth, 'the establishment and use of royal perfection'; the sixth, 'the discriminating use of the three virtues'; the seventh, 'the intelligent use of (the means for) the examination of doubts'; the eighth, 'the thoughtful use of the various verifications'; the ninth, 'the hortatory use of the five (sources of) happiness, and the awing use of the six (occasions of) Suffering.'

i. "First, of the five elements. —The first is water; the second is fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; and the fifth, earth. (The nature of) water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked and straight; of metal, to yield and change; while (that of) earth is seen in seed-sowing and in-gathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which yields and changes becomes acrid; and from seed-sowing and in-gathering comes sweetness.

ii. "Second, of the five (personal) matters. —The first is the bodily demeanour; the second, speech; the third, seeing; the fourth, hearing; the fifth, thinking. (The virtue of) the bodily appearance is respectfulness; of speech, accordance (with reason); of seeing, clearness; of hearing, distinctness; of thinking, perspicaciousness. The respectfulness becomes manifest in gravity; accordance (with reason), in orderliness; the clearness, in wisdom; the distinctness, in deliberation; and the perspicaciousness, in sageness.

iii. "Third, of the eight (objects of) government. —The first is



【原文】

徒，六曰司寇，七曰宾，八曰师。

2.4 “四、五纪：一曰岁，二曰月，三曰日，四曰星辰，五曰历数。

2.5 “五、皇极，皇建其有极。敛时五福，用敷锡厥庶民，惟时厥庶民于汝极。锡汝保极：凡厥庶民，无有淫朋，人无有比德，惟皇作极。凡厥庶民，有猷有为有守，汝则念之。不协于极，不罹于咎，皇则受之。而康而色，曰：‘予攸好德。’汝则锡之福。时人斯其惟皇之极。无虐茆独而畏高明，人之有能有为，使羞其行，而邦其昌。凡

【今译】

祭祀，四是管理居民，五是管理教育，六是治理盗贼，七是管理朝覲，八是管理军事。

2.4 “四、五种记时方法：一是年，二是月，三是日，四是星辰的出现情况，五是日月运行所经历的周天度数。

2.5 “五、君王的法则，君王建立政事要有法则：掌握五福，用来普遍地赏赐给臣民，这样，臣民就会尊重您的法则，自愿巩固您的标准。凡是庶民不要结成邪党，百官不要朋比为奸，要把君王作榜样。凡是臣下有计谋有作为有操守的，您就惦念他们。行为不合法则，但没有陷入罪恶的人，你就成就他们。假若他们和悦温顺地说：“我遵行美德。”您就赐给他们好处。于是，臣民就会思念君王的法则。不虐待无依无靠的人，而又不畏显贵，臣下这样有才能有作为，



food; the second, wealth and articles of convenience; the third, sacrifices; the fourth, (the business of) the Minister of Works; the fifth, (that of) the Minister of Instruction; the sixth, (that of) the Minister of Crime; the seventh, the observances, to be paid to guests; the eighth, the army.

iv. "Fourth, of the five dividers of time. —The first is the year (or the planet Jupiter); the second, the moon; the third, the sun; the fourth, the stars and planets, and the zodiacal spaces; and the fifth, the calendaric calculations.

v. "Fifth, of royal perfection. —The sovereign, having established (in himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence, concentrates in his own person the five (sources of) happiness, and proceeds to diffuse them, and give them to the multitudes of the people. Then they, on their part, embodying your perfection, will give it (back) to you, and secure the preservation of it. Among all the multitudes of the people there will be no unlawful confederacies, and among men (in office) there will be no bad and selfish combinations; —let the sovereign establish in (himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence. Among all the multitudes of the people there will be those who have ability to plan and to act, and who keep themselves (from evil); —do you keep such in mind; and there will be those who, not coming up to the highest point of excellence, yet do not involve themselves in evil; —let the sovereign receive such. And when a placid satisfaction appears in their countenances, and they say, 'Our love is fixed on virtue', do you then confer favours on them; —those men will in this way advance to the perfection of the sovereign. Do not let him oppress the friendless and childless, nor let him fear the high and distinguish-



【原文】

厥正人，既富方穀，汝弗能使有好于而家，时人斯其辜。于其无好德，汝虽锡之福，其作汝用咎。无偏无陂，遵王之义；无有作好，遵王之道；无有作恶，遵王之路；无偏无党，王道荡荡；无党无偏，王道平平；无反无侧，王道正直。会其有极，归其有极。曰：皇，极之敷言，是彝是训，于帝其训。凡厥庶民，极之敷言，是训是行，以近

【今译】

就要让他献出他的才能，国家就会繁荣昌盛。凡那些百官有才干的，须先给他们以优厚的俸禄，才好要求他们做出善政，如果您不能使百姓尽力于王家，那就是官员们的罪过。对于那些没有好德行的人，您即使赐给他们好处，将会使您受到危害。不要不平，不要不正，要遵守王令；不要作私好，要遵守王道；不要作威恶，要遵行正路。不要行偏，不要结党，王道坦荡；不要结党，不要行偏，王道平平；不要违反，不要倾侧，王道正直。大家归到君王的准则下来，这就叫做君王统治准则的至理名言。要宣扬教导，天帝就顺心了。这也是庶民都要遵守的至理名言，要顺从实行，用来接近天子的光辉。天子作臣民



ed. When men (in office) have ability and administrative power, let them be made still more to cultivate their conduct; and the prosperity of the country will be promoted. All (such) right men, having a competency, will go on in goodness. If you cannot cause them to have what they love in their families, they will forthwith proceed to be guilty of crime. As to those who have not the love of virtue, although you confer favours (and emoluments) on them, they will (only) involve you in employing the evil.

“Without deflection, without unevenness,

Pursue the royal righteousness.

Without selfish likings,

Pursue the royal way.

Without selfish dislikings,

Pursue the royal path.

Avoid deflection, avoid partiality;—

Broad and long is the royal way.

Avoid partiality, avoid deflection;—

Level and easy is the royal way.

Avoid perversity, avoid one-sidedness;—

Correct and straight is the royal way.

(Ever) seek for this perfect excellence,

(Ever) turn to this perfect excellence.”

He went on to say, “This amplification of the royal perfection contains the unchanging (rule), and is the (great) lesson;—yea, it is the lesson of God. All the multitudes of the people, instructed in this amplification of the perfect excellence, and carrying it into practice, will thereby approximate to the glory of the Son of Heaven, and say, ‘The Son of Heaven is the parent of the people, and



【原文】

天子之光。曰：天子作民父母，以为天下王。

2.6 “六、三德：一曰正直，二曰刚克，三曰柔克。平康正直，强弗友刚克，夔友柔克。沉潜刚克，高明柔克。惟辟作福，惟辟作威，惟辟玉食。臣无有作福作威玉食。臣之有作福作威玉食，其害于而家，凶于而国。人用侧颇僻，民用僭忒。

2.7 “七、稽疑：择建立卜筮人，乃命卜筮。曰雨，曰霁，曰蒙，曰驿，曰克，曰贞，曰悔，凡七。卜五，占用二，衍忒。立时人作卜筮。三人占，则从二人之言。汝则有太疑，谋及乃心，谋及卿

【今译】

的父母，因此才做天下的君王。

2.6 “六、三种品德：一是正直，二是过于刚强，三是过于柔弱。中正和平，就是正直；强不可亲就是刚克；和顺可亲就是柔克。应当抑制刚强不可亲近的人，推崇和顺可亲的人。只有君王才能作福，只有君王才能作威，只有君王才能享用美物。臣子不许有作福、作威、美食的情况。假若臣子有作福、作威、美食的情况，就会害及您的家，乱及您的国。百官将因此倾侧不正，百姓也将因此犯上作乱。

2.7 “七、用卜决疑：选择建立掌管卜筮的官员，教导他们卜筮的方法。龟兆有的叫做雨，有的叫做霁，有的叫做蒙，有的叫做驿，有的叫做克；卦象有的叫做贞，有的叫做悔，共计有七种。卜龟用前五种，占筮用后两种，根据这些推演变化，决定吉凶。设立这种官员进行卜筮。三个人占卜，就听从两个人的说法。你若有重大的疑难，



so becomes the sovereign of all under the sky. ’

vi. “Sixth, of the three virtues. —The first is correctness and straightforwardness; the second, strong rule; and the third, mild rule. In peace and tranquillity, correctness and straightforwardness (must sway); in violence and disorder, strong rule; in harmony and order, mild rule. For the reserved and retiring there should be (the stimulus of) the strong rule; for the high (-minded) and distinguished, (the restraint of) the mild rule. It belongs only to the sovereign to confer dignities and rewards, to display the terrors of majesty, and to receive the revenues (of the kingdom). There should be no such thing as a minister’s conferring dignities or rewards, displaying the terrors of majesty, or receiving the revenues. Such a thing is injurious to the clans, and fatal to the states (of the kingdom); smaller affairs are thereby managed in a one-sided and perverse manner, and the people fall into assumptions and excesses.

vii. “Seventh, of the (means for the) examination of doubts. —Officers having been chosen and appointed for divining by the tortoise-shell and the stalks of the Achillea, they are to be charged (on occasion) to execute their duties. (In doing this,) they will find (the appearances of) rain, of clearing up, of cloudiness, of want of connexion, and of crossing; and the inner and outer diagrams. In all (the indications) are seven;—five given by the shell, and two by the stalks; and (by means) of these any errors (in the mind) may be traced out. These officers having been appointed, when the divination is proceeded with, three men are to interpret the indications, and the (consenting) words of two of them are to be followed. When you have doubts about any great matter,



【原文】

士，谋及庶人，谋及卜筮。汝则从，龟从，筮从，卿士从，庶民从，是之谓大同。身其康强，子孙其逢。吉。汝则从，龟从，筮从，卿士逆，庶民逆，吉。卿士从，龟从，筮从，汝则逆，庶民逆，吉。庶民从，龟从，筮从，汝则逆，卿士逆，吉。汝则从，龟从，筮逆，卿士逆，庶民逆，作内吉，作外凶。龟筮共违于人，用静吉，用作凶。

2.8 “八、庶征：曰雨，曰暘，曰燠，曰寒，曰风。曰时五者来

【今译】

你自己要考虑，再与卿士商量，再与庶民商量，再与卜筮官员商量。你赞同，龟卜赞同，著筮赞同，卿士赞同，庶民赞同，这叫大同。这样，自身会康强，子孙会昌盛，很吉利。你赞同，龟卜赞同，著筮赞同，而卿士反对，庶民反对，也吉利。卿士赞同，龟卜赞同，著筮赞同，你反对，庶民反对，也吉利。庶民赞同，龟卜赞同，著筮赞同，你反对，卿士反对，也吉利。你赞同，龟卜赞同，著筮反对，卿士反对，庶民反对，在国内行事就吉利，在国外行事就不吉利。龟卜、著筮都与人意相违，不做事就吉利，做事就凶险。

2.8 “八、一些征兆：一叫雨，一叫晴，一叫暖，一叫寒，一叫风。一年中这五种天气齐备，各根据时序发生，百草就茂盛。一种天气过多就不好；一种天气过少，也不好。

“君王行为美好的征兆：一叫肃敬，就像及时降雨的喜人；一叫



consult with your own mind; consult with your high ministers and officers; consult with the common people; consult the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. If you, the shell, the stalks, the ministers and officers, and the common people, all agree about a course, this is what is called a great concord, and the result will be the welfare of your person and good fortune to your descendants. If you, the shell, and the stalks agree, while the ministers, and officers, and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the ministers and officers, with the shell and stalks, agree, while you and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the common people, the shell, and the stalks agree, while you, with the ministers and officers, oppose, the result will be fortunate. If you and the shell agree, while the stalks, with the ministers and officers, and the common people oppose, internal operations will be fortunate, and external undertakings unlucky. When the shell and stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be good fortune in being still, and active operations will be unlucky.

viii. "Eighth, of the various verifications. —They are rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind, and seasonableness. When the five come, all complete, and each in its proper order, (even) the various plants will be richly luxuriant. Should any one of them be either excessively abundant or excessively deficient, there will be evil. There are the favourable verifications:—namely, of gravity, which is emblemized by seasonable rain; of orderliness, emblemized by seasonable sunshine; of wisdom, emblemized by seasonable heat;



【原文】

备，各以其叙，庶草蕃庑。一极备，凶；一极无，凶。

“曰休征：曰肃，时雨若；曰乂，时暘若；曰哲，时燠若；曰谋，时寒若；曰圣，时风若。

“曰咎征：曰狂，恒雨若；曰僭，恒暘若；曰豫，恒燠若；曰急，恒寒若；曰蒙，恒风若。曰王省惟岁，卿士惟月，师尹惟日。岁月日时无易，百谷用成，乂用明，俊民用章，家用平康。日月岁时既易，百谷用不成，乂用昏不明，俊民用微，家用不宁。庶民惟星，星有好风，星有好雨。日月之行，则有冬有夏。月之从星，则以风雨。

2.9 “九、五福：一曰寿，二曰富，三曰康宁，四曰攸好德，五曰考终命。

“六极：一曰凶、短、折，二曰疾，三曰忧，四曰贫，五曰恶，六曰弱。”

【今译】

修治，就像及时晴朗的喜人；一叫明智，就像及时温暖的喜人；一叫善谋，就像及时寒冷的喜人；一叫通圣，就像及时刮风的喜人。

“君王行为坏的征兆：一叫狂妄，就像久雨的愁人；一叫不信，就像久晴的愁人；一叫逸豫，就像久暖的愁人；一叫严急，就像久寒的愁人；一叫昏昧，就像久风的愁人。君王之所视察，就像一年包括四时；卿士就像月，统属于岁；众尹就像日，统属于月。假若岁、月、日、时的关系没有改变，百谷就因此成熟，政治就因此清明，杰出的人才因此显扬，国家因此太平安宁。假若日、月、岁、时的关系全都改变，百谷就因此不能成熟，政治就因此昏暗不明，杰出的人才因此不能重用，国家因此不得安宁。百姓好比星星，有的星喜欢风，有的星喜欢雨。太阳和月亮的运行，就有冬天和夏天。月亮顺从星星，就要用风和雨润泽他们。

2.9 “九、五种幸福：一是长寿，二是富，三是健康安宁，四是遵行美德，五是高寿善终。

“六种不幸的事：一是早死，二是疾病，三是忧愁，四是贫穷，五是邪恶，六是衰弱。”



of deliberation, emblemed by seasonable cold; and of sageness, emblemed by seasonable wind. There are (also) the unfavourable verifications:—namely, of recklessness, emblemed by constant rain; of assumption, emblemed by constant sunshine; of indolence, emblemed by constant heat; of hastiness, emblemed by constant cold; and of stupidity, emblemed by constant wind. ”

He went on to say, “The king should examine the (character of the whole) year; the high ministers and officers (that of) the month; and the inferior officers (that of) the day. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, there be an unchanging seasonableness, all the grains will be matured; the measures of government will be wise, heroic men will stand forth distinguished; and in the families (of the people) there will be peace and prosperity. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, the seasonableness be interrupted, the various kinds of grain will not be matured; the measures of government will be dark and unwise; heroic men will be kept in obscurity; and in the families (of the people) there will be an absence of repose. By the common people the stars should be examined. Some stars love wind, and some love rain. The courses of the sun and moon give winter and summer. The way in which the moon follows the stars gives wind and rain.

ix. “Ninth, of the five (sources of) happiness. —The first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, the love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will (of Heaven). Of the six extreme evils, the first is misfortune shortening the life; the second, sickness; the third, distress of mind; the fourth, poverty; the fifth, wickedness; the sixth, weakness. ”



旅 獒 (伪古文尚书)

【原文】

1. 惟克商，遂通道于九夷八蛮。西旅底贡厥獒，太保乃作《旅獒》，用训于王。

2. 曰：“呜呼！明王慎德，四夷咸宾。无有远迩，毕献方物，惟服食器用。王乃昭德之致于异姓之邦，无替厥服；分宝玉于伯叔之国，时庸展亲。人不易物，惟德其物。

3. “德盛不狎侮。狎侮君子，罔以尽人心；狎侮小人，罔以尽其

【今译】

1. 武王胜商以后，便向周围众多的民族国家开通了道路。西方旅国来贡献那里的大犬，太保召公于是写了《旅獒》，用来劝谏武王。

2. 召公说：“啊！圣明的王敬重德行，所以四周的民族都来归顺。不论远近，都贡献些各方的物产，但只是些可供衣食器用的东西。明王于是昭示这些贡品给异姓的国家，教育他们不要荒废职事；分赐宝玉给同姓的国家，用这些东西展示亲爱之情。人们并不轻视那些物品，只以德意看待那些物品。

3. “道德高尚的人对一切人不敢轻视侮慢。轻易侮慢官员，就不可以使人尽心；轻易侮慢百姓，就不可以使人尽力。不被歌舞女色所



The Hounds of Lü

After the conquest of Shang, the way being open to the nine tribes of the Yi and the eight of the Man^①, the western tribe of Lu sent as tribute some of its hounds, on which the Grand-Guardian made "The Hounds of Lü", by way of instruction to the king.

He said, "Oh! the intelligent kings paid careful attention to their virtue, and the wild tribes on every side acknowledged subjection to them. The nearer and the more remote all presented the productions of their countries,—in robes, food, and vessels for use. The kings then displayed the things thus drawn forth by their virtue, (distributing them) to the (princes of the) states of different surnames from their own, (to encourage them) not to neglect their duties. The (more) precious things and pieces of jade they distributed among their uncles in charge of states, thereby increasing their attachment (to the throne). The recipients did not despise the things, but saw in them the power of virtue.

"Complete virtue allows no contemptuous familiarity. When (a ruler) treats superior men with such familiarity, he cannot get them to give him all their hearts; when he so treats inferior men, he cannot get them to put forth for him all their strength. Let him

① By "the nine Yi and eight Man" we are to understand generally the barbarous tribes lying round the China of Zhou. Those tribes are variously enumerated in the ancient books. Generally the Yi are assigned to the east, the Zong to the West, the Di to the north, and the Man to the south.



【原文】

力。不役耳目，百度惟贞。玩人丧德，玩物丧志。志以道宁，言以道接。不作无益害有益，功乃成；不贵异物贱用物，民乃足。犬马非其土性不畜，珍禽奇兽，不育于国。不宝远物，则远人格；所宝惟贤，则迩人安。

4. “呜呼！夙夜罔或不勤。不矜细行，终累大德，为山九仞，功亏一篑。允迪兹，生民保厥居，惟乃世王。”

【今译】

役使，百事的处理就会适当。戏弄人就丧德，玩弄物就丧志。立志要立在道理上，要依靠道才安定；别人的言论，看是否合乎道才接受。不做无益的事来妨害有益的事，事就能成；不重视珍奇物品而看贱日用物，百姓就能充足。犬马不是土生土长的不养，珍禽奇兽不养在国内。不宝爱远方的物品，远人就会来；所重的是贤才，近人就安宁了。

4. “啊！早晚不可有不勤的时候。不注重细行，终究会损害大德，比如筑九仞高的土山，工作未完只在于一筐土。真能做到这些，则人民就安其居，而周家就可以世代为王了。”



keep from being in bondage to his ears and eyes, and strive to be correct in all his measures. By trifling intercourse with men, he ruins his virtue; by finding his amusement in things (of mere pleasure), he ruins his aims. His aims should repose in what is right; he should listen to words (also) in their relation to what is right.

“When he does not do what is unprofitable to the injury of what is profitable, his merit can be completed. When he does not value strange things to the contemning things that are useful, his people will be able to supply (all that he needs). (Even) dogs and horses that are not native to his country he will not keep. Fine birds and strange animals he will not nourish in his state. When he does not look on foreign things as precious, foreigners will come to him; when it is real worth that is precious to him, (his own) people near at hand will be in a state of repose.

“Oh! early and late never be but earnest. If you do not attend jealously to your small actions, the result will be to affect your virtue in great matters;—in raising a mound of nine fathoms, the work may be unfinished for want of one basket (of earth). If you really pursue this course (which I indicate), the people will preserve their possessions, and the throne will descend from generation to generation.”

金 縢

【原文】

1. 既克商二年，王有疾，弗豫。二公曰：“我其为王穆卜。”周公曰：“未可以戚我先王？”公乃自以为功，为三坛同埴。为坛于南方，北面，周公立焉。植璧秉圭，乃告太王、王季、文王。

史乃册，祝曰：“惟尔元孙某，遘厉虐疾。若尔三王是有丕子之责于天，以旦代某之身。予仁若考能，多材多艺，能事鬼神。乃元孙不若旦多材多艺，不能事鬼神。乃命于帝庭，敷佑四方，用能定尔子孙于下地。四方之民罔不祗畏。呜呼！无坠天之降宝命，我先王亦永有

【今译】

1. 周灭商后的第二年，武王生了重病，身体不安。太公、召公说：“我们为王恭敬地卜问吉凶吧！”周公说：“不可以向我们先王祷告吗？”周公就把自身作为抵押，清除一块土地，在上面筑起三座祭坛。又在三坛的南方筑起一座台子。周公面向北方站在台上，放着玉，拿着圭，就向太王、王季、文王祷告。

史官就写了策书，祝告说：“你们的长孙姬发，遇到险恶的病。假若你们三位先王这时在天上有助祭的职责，就用我姬旦代替他的身子吧！我柔顺灵巧，多才多艺，能奉事鬼神。你们的长孙不如我多才多艺，不能奉事鬼神。而且他在天帝那里接受了任命，普遍取得了四方，因此能够在人间安定你们的子孙，天下的老百姓也无不敬畏他。唉！不要丧失上帝降给的宝贵使命，我们的先王也就永远有所归依。



The Metal-bound Coffers

Two years after the conquest of Shang, the king fell ill, and was quite disconsolate. The two (other great) dukes said, "Let us reverently consult the tortoise-shell about the king"; but the duke of Zhou said, "You must not so distress our former kings." He then took the business on himself, and reared three altars of earth on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on the south of these, and facing the north, he took there his own position. Having put a round symbol of jade (on each of the three altars), and holding in his hands the lengthened symbol (of his own rank), he addressed the kings Tai, Ji, and Wen.

The (grand) historiographer had written on tablets his prayer, which was to this effect:—"A. B., your great descendant, is suffering from a severe and violent disease;—if you three kings have in heaven the charge of (watching over) him, (Heaven's) great son, let me Dan be a substitute for his person. I was lovingly obedient to my father; I am possessed of many abilities and arts, which fit me to serve spiritual beings. Your great descendant, on the other hand, has not so many abilities and arts as I, and is not so capable of serving spiritual beings. And moreover he was appointed in the hall of God to extend his aid all over the kingdom, so that he might establish your descendants in this lower earth. The people of the four quarters all stand in reverent awe of him. Oh! do not let that precious Heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground, and



【原文】

依归。今我即命于元龟，尔之许我，我其以璧与圭归俟尔命；尔不许我，我乃屏璧与圭。”

乃卜三龟，一习吉。启籥见书，乃并是吉。公曰：“体！王其罔害。予小子新命于三王，惟永终是图；兹攸俟，能念予一人。”公归，乃纳册于金縢之匮中。王翼日乃瘳。

2. 武王既丧，管叔及其群弟乃流言于国，曰：“公将不利于孺

【今译】

现在，我来听命于大龟，你们允许我，我就拿着璧和圭归向你们，等待你们的命令；你们不允许我，我就收藏璧和圭，不敢再请了。”

于是卜问三龟，都重复出现吉兆。打开藏书的锁钥查书，竟然都是吉利。周公说：“根据兆象，王会没有危险。我新向三位先王祷告，只图国运长远；现在期待的，是先王能够俯念我的诚心。”周公回去，把册书放进金属束着的匣子中。第二天，周武王的病就好了。

2. 武王死后，管叔和他的几个弟弟就在国内散布谣言。说：“周公将会对成王不利。”周公就告诉太公、召公说：“我如果不逃避，我



(all the long line of) our former kings will also have one in whom they can ever rest at our sacrifices. I will now seek for your determination (in this matter) from the great tortoise-shell. If you grant me (my request), I will take these symbols and this mace, and return and wait for your orders. If you do not grant it, I will put them by^①. ”

The duke then divined with the three tortoise-shells, and all were favourable. He opened with a key the place where the (oracular) responses were kept, and looked at them, and they also were favourable. He said, “According to the form (of the prognostic) the king will take no injury. I, the little child, have got the renewal of his appointment from the three kings, by whom a long futurity has been consulted for. I have now to wait for the issue. They can provide for our One man. ”

When the duke returned, he placed the tablets (of the prayer) in a metal-bound coffer^②, and next day the king got better.

(Afterwards,) upon the death of king Wu, (the duke's) elder brother, Guan-shu, and his younger brothers, spread a baseless report through the kingdom, to the effect that the duke would do no good to the (king's) young son. On this the duke said to the two (other great) dukes, “If I do not take the law (to these men), I

① I suppose that the divination took place before the altars, and that a different shell was used to ascertain the mind of each king. The oracular responses would be a few lines, kept apart by themselves, and consulted, on occasion, according to certain rules which have not come down to the present day.

② Many scholars think that it was this coffer which contained the oracles of divination mentioned above. It may have been so; but I rather suppose it to have been different, and a special chest in which important archives of the dynasty, to be referred to on great emergencies, were kept.



【原文】

子。”周公乃告二公曰：“我之弗辟，我无以告我先王。”周公居东二年，则罪人斯得。于后，公乃为诗以贻王，名之曰《鸛鸣》。王亦未敢诮公。

3. 秋，大熟，未获，天大雷电以风，禾尽偃，大木斯拔，邦人大恐。王与大夫尽弁以启金縢之书，乃得周公所自以为功代武王之说。二公及王乃问诸史与百执事。对曰：“信。噫！公命我勿敢言。”

王执书以泣，曰：“其勿穆卜！昔公勤劳王家，惟予冲人弗及知。今天动威以彰周公之德，惟朕小子其新逆，我国家礼亦宜之。”王出郊，天乃雨，反风，禾则尽起。二公命邦人凡大木所偃，尽起而筑之。岁则大熟。

【今译】

将无辞回答我先王的责问。”周公避到东方两年，造谣的人就捕获了。后来，周公写了一首诗送给成王，题目叫《鸛鸣》。成王也不敢责备周公。

3. 秋天，百谷成熟，还没有收获，天空出现雷电与大风。庄稼都倒伏了，大树都被拔起，国人非常恐慌。周成王和大夫们都戴上礼帽，打开金属束着的匣子，于是得到了周公以自身为质、请代武王的祝辞。太公、召公和成王就询问众史官以及许多办事官员。他们回答说：“确实的。唉！周公告诫我们不能说出来。”

成王拿着册书哭泣，说：“不要敬卜了！过去，周公勤劳王室，我这年轻人来不及了解。现在上天动怒来表彰周公的功德，我小子要亲自去迎接，我们国家的礼制也应该这样。”成王走出郊外，天就下着雨，风向也反转了，倒伏的庄稼又全部伸起来。太公、召公命令国人，凡大树所压的庄稼，要全部扶起来，又培好根，这一年的年成却是个大丰收。



shall not be able to make my report to the former kings. " He resided (accordingly) in the east for two years, when the criminals were taken (and brought to justice). Afterwards he made a poem to present to the king, and called it " the Owl ". The King on his part did not dare to blame the duke.

In the autumn, when the grain was abundant and ripe, but before it was reaped, Heaven sent a great storm of thunder and lightning, along with wind, by which the grain was all broken down, and great trees torn up. The people were greatly terrified; and the king and great officers, all in their caps of state, proceeded to open the metal-bound coffer and examine the writings in it, where they found the words of the duke when he took on himself the business of being a substitute for king Wu. The two (great) dukes and the king asked the historiographer and all the other officers (acquainted with the transaction) about the thing, and they replied, " It was really thus; but ah! the duke charged us that we should not presume to speak about it. "

The king held the writing in his hand, and wept, saying, " We need not (now) go on reverently to divine. Formerly the duke was thus earnest for the royal House, but I, being a child, did not know it. Now Heaven has moved its terrors to display his virtue. That I, the little child, (now) go with my new views and feelings to meet him, is what the rules of propriety of our kingdom require. "

The king then went out to the borders (to meet the duke), when Heaven sent down rain, and, by virtue of a contrary wind, the grain all rose up. The two (great) dukes gave orders to the people to take up the trees that had fallen and replace them. The year then turned out very fruitful.

大 诰

【原文】

1. 王若曰：“猷！大诰尔多邦越尔御事。弗吊！天降割于我家，不少延。洪惟我幼冲人，嗣无疆大历服。弗造哲，迪民康，矧曰其有能格知天命？

“已！予惟小子，若涉渊水，予惟往求朕攸济。敷贲敷前人受命，兹不忘大功。予不敢闭于天降威，用宁王遗我大宝龟，绍天明。即命曰：

【今译】

1. 王这样说：“哟！遍告你们众国君主和你们的办事大臣。不幸啊！上帝给我们国家降下灾祸，不稍间断。我这个幼稚的人继承了远悠久的王业。没有遇到明哲的人，指导老百姓安定下来，何况说会有能度知天命的人呢？

“唉！我小子像渡过深渊，我应当前往寻求我渡过去的办法。大宝龟帮助前人接受天命，至今不能忘记它的大功。在上天降下灾难的时刻我不敢把它闭藏着，用文王留给我们的大宝龟，卜问天命。我向大龟祷告说：





The Great Announcement

The king speaks to the following effect:—"Ho! I make a great announcement to you, (the princes of) the many states, and to you, the managers of my affairs. —We are unpitied, and Heaven sends down calamities on our House, without the least intermission^①. It greatly occupies my thoughts that I, so very young, have inherited this illimitable patrimony with its destinies and domains. I cannot display wisdom and lead the people to prosperity; and how much less should I be able to reach the knowledge of the decree of Heaven!

"Yes, I who am but a little child am in the position of one who has to go through a deep water;—I must go and seek where I can cross over. I must diffuse the elegant institutions of my predecessor and display the appointment which he received (from Heaven);—so shall I not be forgetful of his great work. Nor shall I dare to restrain the majesty of Heaven in sending down its inflictions (on the criminals)^②.

"The Tranquillizing king^③ left to me the great precious tortoise-shell, to bring into connexion with me the intelligence of Heaven. I divined by it, and it told me that there would be great

① With reference, probably, to the early death of his father, and the revolt that followed quickly upon it.

② The duke had made up his mind that he would deal with stern justice even on his own brothers.

③ King Wu.



【原文】

“‘有大艰于西土，西土人亦不静，越兹蠹。殷小腆诞敢纪其叙。天降威，知我国有疵，民不康，曰：予复！反鄙我周邦，今蠹今翼。日民献有十夫予翼，以于救宁、武图功。我有大事，休？’朕卜并吉。”

“肆予告我友邦君越尹氏、庶士、御事，曰：‘予得吉卜，予惟以尔庶邦于伐殷逋播臣。’尔庶邦君越庶士、御事罔不反曰：‘艰大，民不静，亦惟在王宫邦君室。越予小子考，翼不可征，王害不违卜？’”

“肆予冲人永思艰，曰：呜呼！允蠹鰥寡，哀哉！予造天役，遗

【今译】

“‘在西方有大灾难，西方人也不安静，现在也蠢动了。殷商的小主竟敢组织他的残余力量。天帝降下灾祸，他们知道我们国家有困难，民不安静。他们说：我们要复国！反过来图谋我们周国，现在他们像虫鸟一样动起来飞起来了。这些天有十位贤者来帮助我，我要和他们前往完成文王、武王所谋求的功业。我们将有战事，会吉利吗？’我的卜兆全都吉利。”

“所以我告诉我的友邦国君和各级官员：‘我现在得到了吉卜，打算和你们众国去讨伐殷商那些叛乱的罪人。’你们各位国君和各级官员却反对说：‘困难很大，老百姓不安宁，而且这些乱子就出现在王族和家室之间。我们这些小子考虑，或许不可征讨吧，大王为什么不违背龟卜呢？’”

“现在我对这些困难作了深深地思考，我说：‘唉！确实惊扰了苦难的人民，真痛心啊！我受天命的役使，天帝把艰难的事重托给我，



trouble in the region of the west and that the western people would not be still. Accordingly we have these senseless movements. Small and reduced as Yin now is, (its prince) greatly dares to take in hand its (broken) line. Though Heaven sent down its terrors (on his House), yet knowing of the evils in our kingdom, and that the people are not tranquil, he says, 'I will recover (my patrimony)'; and so (he wishes to) make our Zhou a border territory again. One day there was a senseless movement, and the day after, ten men of worth appeared among the people, to help me to go forward to restore tranquillity and perpetuate the plans (of my father). The great business I am engaging in will (thus) have a successful issue. I have divined (also) by the tortoise-shell, and always got a favourable response.

"Therefore I tell you, the princes of my friendly states, and you, the directors of departments, my officers, and the managers of my affairs; I have obtained a favourable reply to my divinations. I will go forward with you from all the states, and punish those vagabond and transported ministers of Yin. (But) you the princes of the various states, and you the various officers and managers of my affairs, all retort on me, saying, 'The hardships will be great, and that the people are not quiet has its source really in the king's palace and in the mansions of the princes in that (rebellious) state. We little ones, and the old and reverend men as well, think the expedition ill-advised;—why does your Majesty not go contrary to the divinations?' I, in my youth, (also) think continually of these hardships, and say, Alas! these senseless movements will deplorably afflict the wifeless men and widows! But I am the servant of Heaven, which has assigned me this great task, and laid the



【原文】

大投艰于朕身。越予冲人不卬自恤。义尔邦君越尔多士、尹氏、御事绥予曰：‘无愆于恤，不可不成乃宁考图功！’

“已！予惟小子，不敢替上帝命。天休于宁王，兴我小邦周，宁王惟卜用，克绥受兹命。今天其相民，矧亦惟卜用？呜呼！天明畏，弼我丕丕基！”

2. 王曰：“尔惟旧人，尔丕克远省，尔知宁王若勤哉！天罔愆我成功所，予不敢不极卒宁王图事。肆予大化诱我友邦君：天棐忱辞，其考我民，予曷其不于前宁人图功攸终？天亦惟用勤愆我民，若有疾，予曷敢不于前宁人攸受休毕？”

王曰：“若昔朕其逝，朕言艰日思。若考作室，既底法，厥子乃弗

【今译】

我不暇只为自身忧虑。你们众位邦君与各位大臣应该安慰我说：‘不要被忧患吓倒，不可不完成先王所谋求的功业！’

“唉！我小子不敢废弃天命。天帝嘉惠文王，振兴我们小小的周国，当年文王只使用龟卜，能够承受这天命。现在天帝帮助老百姓，何况也是使用龟卜呢？啊！天命可畏，你们辅助我们伟大的事业吧！”

2. 王说：“你们是老臣，你们多能远知往事，你们知道文王是如何勤劳的啊！天帝慎重地告诉我们成功的办法，我不敢不快速完成文王图谋的事业。现在我劝导我们友邦的君主：天帝用诚信的话帮助我们，要成全我们的百姓，我们为什么不将先王图谋的功业尽力完成呢？天帝也想勤苦我们老百姓，好像有疾病，我们怎敢不对前文王所受的疾病好好攘除呢？”

王说：“像往日讨伐纣王一样，我将要前往，我想说些艰难日子里



hard duty on my person. I therefore, the young one, do not pity myself; and it would be right in you, the many officers, the directors of departments, and the managers of my affairs, to comfort me, saying, 'Do not be distressed with sorrow. We shall surely complete the plans of your Tranquillizing father.'

"Yes, I, the little child, dare not disregard the Charge of God. Heaven, favourable to the Tranquillizing king, gave such prosperity to our small country of Zhou. The Tranquillizing king divined and acted accordingly, and so he calmly received his (great) appointment. Now when Heaven is (evidently) aiding the people, how much more should we follow the indications of the shell! Oh! the clearly intimated will of Heaven is to be feared;—it is to help my great inheritance."

The king says, "You, who are the old ministers, are fully able to remember the past; you know how great was the toil of the Tranquillizing king. Where Heaven (now) shuts up (our path) and distresses us, is the place where I must accomplish my work;—I dare not but do my utmost to complete the plans of the Tranquillizing king. It is on this account that I use such efforts to remove the doubts and carry forward the inclinations of the princes of my friendly states. And Heaven assists me with sincere expressions (of sympathy), which I have ascertained among the people;—how dare I but aim at the completion of the work formerly begun by the Tranquillizer? Heaven, moreover, is thus toiling and distressing the people;—it is as if they were suffering from disease; how dare I allow (the appointment) which my predecessor, the Tranquillizer, received, to be without its happy fulfilment?"

The king says, "Formerly, at the initiation of this expedition,



【原文】

肯堂，矧肯构？厥父菑，厥子乃弗肯播，矧肯获？厥考翼其肯曰：予有后弗弃基？肆予曷敢不越印敕宁王大命？若兄考，乃有友伐厥子，民养其劝弗救？”

3. 王曰：“呜呼！肆哉，尔庶邦君越尔御事。爽邦由哲，亦惟十人迪知上帝命越天棐忱，尔时罔敢易法！矧今天降戾于周邦？惟大艰人诞邻胥伐于厥室，尔亦不知天命不易？

“予永念曰：天惟丧殷，若穉夫，予曷敢不终朕亩？天亦惟休于

【今译】

的想法。好像父亲建屋，已经确定了办法，他的儿子却不愿意打地基，还肯愿意盖屋吗？他的父亲新开垦了田地，他的儿子却不愿意播种，还肯愿意收获吗？这样，他的父亲或许会愿意说，我有后人不会废弃我的基业吗？所以我怎敢不在我自己身上完成文王伟大的使命呢？又好比兄长死了，却有人群起攻击他的儿子，你难道能够不救吗？”

3. 王说：“啊！努力吧，你们诸位邦君和各位官员。使国家清明要用明智的人，现在也有十个人引导我们知道天命和天帝辅助诚信的道理，你们不能轻视这些！何况现在天帝已经给周国降下了定命呢？那些发动叛乱的大罪人，勾结邻国，同室操戈。你们也不知天命不可改变吗？

“我长时间考虑着：天帝要灭亡殷国，好像农夫一样，我怎敢不完成我的田亩工作呢？天帝也想嘉惠我们先辈文王，我们怎能放弃吉



I spoke of its difficulties, and thought of them daily. But when a deceased father, (wishing) to build a house, had laid out the plan, if his son be unwilling to raise up the hall, how much less will he be willing to complete the roof! Or if the father had broken up the ground, and his son be unwilling to sow the seed, how much less will he be willing to reap the crop! In such a case could the father, (who had himself) been so reverently attentive (to his objects), have been willing to say, 'I have a son who will not abandon his patrimony?' —How dare I therefore but use all my powers to give a happy settlement to the great charge entrusted to the Tranquillizing king? If among the friends of an elder brother or a deceased father there be those who attack his son, will the elders of the people encourage (the attacker, and not (come to the) rescue?"

The king says, "Oh! take heart, ye princes of the various states, and ye managers of my affairs. The enlightening of the country was from the wise, even from the ten men who obeyed and knew the charge of God, and the real assistance given by Heaven. At that time none of you presumed to change the rules (prescribed by the Tranquillizing king). And now when Heaven is sending down calamity on the country of Zhou, and the authors of these great distresses (make it appear on a grand scale as if) the inmates of a house were mutually to attack one another, you are without any knowledge that the decree of Heaven is not to be changed!

"I ever think and say, Heaven in destroying Yin was doing husbandman's work—how dare I but complete the work on my fields? Heaven will thereby show its favour to my predecessor, the Tranquillizer. How should I be all for the oracle of divination, and

【原文】

前宁人，予曷其极卜？敢弗于从率宁人有指疆土？矧今卜并吉？肆朕诞以尔东征。天命不僭，卜陈惟若兹！”

【今译】

卜呢？怎敢不前去重新巡视文王美好的疆土呢？更何况今天的占卜都是吉兆呢？所以我要大规模地率领你们东征，天命不可不信，卜兆的指示应当遵从呀！”



presume not to follow (your advice)? I am following the Tranquilizer, whose purpose embraced all within the limits of the land. How much more must I proceed, when the divinations are all favourable! It is on these accounts that I make this expedition in force to the east. There is no mistake about the decree of Heaven. The indications given by the tortoise-shell are all to the same effect. "





微子之命（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 王若曰：“猷！殷王元子。惟稽古崇德象贤，统承先王，修其礼物，作宾于王家，与国咸休，永世无穷。

“呜呼！乃祖成汤克齐圣广渊，皇天眷佑，诞受厥命，抚民以宽，除其邪虐。功加于时，德垂后裔。

“尔惟践修厥猷，旧有令闻。恪慎克孝，肃恭神人。予嘉乃德，

【今译】

1. 成王这样说：“哟！殷王的长子。稽考古代，新朝对前朝有圣德的先王理当尊崇、效法，希望你继承先王的传统，施行他的礼制文物，你作为我周王的贵宾，跟王家同样美好，世代绵长，无穷无尽。

“啊呀！你的祖先成汤，能够肃敬、圣明、广大、深远，被皇天顾念佑助，承受了天命。他用宽和的办法安治臣民，除掉邪恶暴虐之徒。功绩施展于当时，德泽流传于后裔。

“你履行成汤的治道，老早有美名。谨慎能孝，恭敬神和人。我赞美你的美德，以为纯厚而不可忘。上帝依时享受你的祭祀，下民对



The Charge to the Count of Wei

The king speaks to the following effect:—"Ho! eldest son of the king of Yin, examining into antiquity, (I find) that the honouring of the virtuous (belongs to their descendants) who resemble them in worth, and (I appoint) you to continue the line of the kings your ancestors, observing their ceremonies and taking care of their various relics. Come (also) as a guest to our royal House^①, and enjoy the prosperity of our kingdom, for ever and ever without end.

"Oh! your ancestor, Tang the Successful, was reverent and sage, (with a virtue) vast and deep. The favour and help of great Heaven lighted upon him, and he grandly received its appointment, to soothe the people by his gentleness, and remove the wicked oppressions from which they were suffering. His achievements affected his age, and his virtue was transmitted to his posterity. And you are the one who pursue and cultivate his plans;—this praise has belonged to you for long. Reverently and carefully have you discharged your filial duties; gravely and respectfully you behave to spirits and to men. I admire your virtue, and pronounce it great and not to be forgotten. God will always enjoy your offerings; the people will be reverently harmonious (under your sway). I

① Under the dynasty of Zhou, the representatives of the two previous dynasties of Shang and Xia were distinguished above the other princes of the Kingdom, and denominated "guests" of the sovereign, coming to his court and assisting in the services in his ancestral temple, nearly on a footing of equality with him.



【原文】

曰笃不忘。上帝时歆，下民祗协，庸建尔于上公，尹兹东夏。

2. “钦哉！往敷乃训。慎乃服命，率由典常，以蕃王室。弘乃烈祖，律乃有民，永绥厥位，毗予一人。世世享德，万邦作式，俾我有周无敎。

“呜呼！往哉惟休！无替朕命。”

【今译】

你敬爱和睦，因此立你为上公，治理这块东夏地区。

2. “要敬重呀！前去发布你的政令。谨慎对待你的上公职位与使命，遵循常法以保卫周王室。弘扬你列祖的功德，务必治理规范你的人民，长久安居上公之位，辅助我一人。这样，你的世世子孙会享受你的功德，万邦诸侯会以你为榜样，服从我周王室而不厌倦。

“啊！前去吧，要好好地干！不要废弃我的诰命。”



raise you therefore to the rank of high duke, to rule this eastern part of our great land.

“Be reverent. Go and diffuse abroad your instructions. Be carefully observant of your robes and (other accompaniments of) your appointment; follow and observe the proper statutes;—so as to prove a bulwark to the royal House. Enlarge (the fame of) your meritorious ancestor; be a law to your people;—so as for ever to preserve your dignity. (So also) shall you be a help to me, the One man; future ages will enjoy (the benefit of) your virtue; all the states will take you for a pattern; and thus you will make our dynasty of Zhou never weary of you. Oh! go, and be prosperous. Do not disregard my charge. ”

康 诰

【原文】

1. 惟三月哉生魄，周公初基作新大邑于东国洛，四方民大和会。侯甸男邦、采卫百工、播民和见，士于周。周公咸勤，乃洪大诰治。

2. 王若曰：“孟侯，朕其弟，小子封。惟乃丕显考文王，克明德慎罚；不敢侮齔寡，庸庸，衿衿，威威，显民，用肇造我区夏，越我一二邦以修我西土。惟时怙冒，闻于上帝，帝休，天乃大命文王。殪

【今译】

1. 三月间月光初生，周公开始计划在东方的洛水旁边建造一个新的大城市，四方的臣民都同心来会。侯、甸、男的邦君，采、卫的百官，殷商的遗民都来会见，为周王室服务。周公普遍慰劳他们，趁为康叔封卫举行封命仪式的机会代替成王发表治殷的方法。

2. 王这样说：“孟侯，我的弟弟，年轻的封啊！你的伟大光明的父亲文王，能够崇尚德教，慎用刑罚；不敢欺侮无依无靠的人，任用当用的人，尊敬当敬的人，威慑应当威慑的人，把这些原则明白地告示于人民，因而造就了我们华夏地区，和我们的几个友邦共同治理我





The Announcement to the Prince of Kang

On the third month, when the moon began to wane, the duke of Zhou commenced the foundation, and proceeded to build a new great city at Luo of the eastern states. The people from every quarter assembled in great harmony. From the Hou, Dian, Nan, Cai, and Wei domains, the various officers stimulated this harmony of the people, and introduced them to the business that was to be done for Zhou. The duke encouraged all to diligence, and made a great announcement about the performance (of the works).

The king speaks to this effect:—"Head of the princes^①, and my younger brother, little one^②, Feng, it was your greatly distinguished father, the king Wen, who was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments. He did not dare to treat with contempt (even) wifeless men and widows. He employed the employable, and revered the reverend; he was terrible to those who needed to be awed;—so getting distinction among the people. It was thus he laid the foundations of (the sway of) our small portion of the kingdom, and the one or two (neighbouring) regions were brought under, his improving influence, until throughout our western land all placed in him their reliance. The fame, of him ascen-

① Feng had, no doubt, been made chief or leader of all the fental lords in one of the Zhou or provinces of the kingdom.

② The duke of Zhou, though speaking in the name of King Kang, yet addresses Feng from the standpoint of his own relation to him.



【原文】

戎殷，诞受厥命，越厥邦厥民，惟时叙，乃寡兄勖，肆汝小子封在兹东土。”

3. 王曰：“呜呼！封，汝念哉！今民将在祗遘乃文考，绍闻衣德言。往敷求于殷先哲王，用保乂民，汝丕远惟商耆成人宅心知训。别求闻由古先哲王，用康保民。宏于天，若德裕乃身，不废在王命！”

王曰：“呜呼！小子封，恫瘝乃身，敬哉！天畏棐忱；民情大可见，小人难保。往尽乃心，无康好逸豫，乃其乂民。我闻曰：‘怨不

【今译】

们西方。文王这种重大努力，被上帝知道了，上帝很高兴，就降大命给文王。灭亡大国殷，接受上帝的大命和殷国殷民，继承文王的基业，是你长兄武王努力所致，所以你这年轻人才封在这东土。”

3. 王说：“啊！封，你要考虑啊！现在殷民将观察你恭敬地追随文王，努力听取殷人的好意见。你去殷地，要遍求殷代圣明先王用来保养百姓的方法，你还要听取殷商长者的明智教导。另外，你还要探求古时圣明帝王安保百姓的遗训。要比天还宏大，用和顺的美德指导自己，不停地去完成王命！”

王说：“啊！年轻的封，治理国家应当苦身劳形，要谨慎啊！上天辅助诚信的人，民情大致可以看出，百姓难于安抚的。你去殷地要尽你的心意，不要苟安贪图逸乐，才会治理好百姓。我听说：‘民怨不



ded up to the high God, and God approved. Heaven accordingly gave a grand charge to king Wen, to exterminate the great (dynasty of) Yin, and grandly receive its appointment, so that the various countries belonging to it and their peoples were brought to an orderly condition. Then your unworthy elder brother exerted himself; and thus it is that you Feng, the little one, are here in this eastern region. ”

The king says, “Oh! Feng, bear these things in mind. Now (your success in the management of) the people will depend on your reverently following your father Wen;—do you carry out his virtuous words which you have heard, and clothe yourself with them. (Moreover), where you go, seek out among (the traces of) the former wise kings of Yin what you may use in protecting and regulating their people. (Again), you must in the remote distance study the (ways of) the old accomplished men of Shang, that you may establish your heart, and know how to instruct (the people). (Further still), you must search out besides what is to be learned of the wise kings of antiquity, and employ it in tranquillizing and protecting the people. (Finally), enlarge (your thoughts) to (the comprehension of all) heavenly (principles), and virtue will be richly displayed in your person, so that you will not render nugatory the king’s charge. ”

The king says, “Oh! Feng, the little one, be respectfully careful, as if you were suffering from a disease. Awful though Heaven be, it yet helps the sincere. The feelings of the people can for the most part be discerned; but it is difficult to preserve (the attachment of) the lower classes. Where you go, employ all your heart. Do not seek repose, nor be fond of ease and pleasure. I have



【原文】

在大，亦不在小；惠不惠，懋不懋。’已！汝惟小子，乃服惟弘王应保殷民，亦惟助王宅天命，作新民。”

4. 王曰：“呜呼！封，敬明乃罚。人有小罪，非眚，乃惟终自作不典；式尔，有厥罪小，乃不可不杀。乃有大罪，非终，乃惟眚灾；适尔，既道极厥辜，时乃不可杀。”

王曰：“呜呼！封，有叙时，乃大明服，惟民其敕懋和。若有疾，惟民其毕弃咎；若保赤子，惟民其康乂。

“非汝封刑人杀人，无或刑人杀人。非汝封又曰劓刵人，无或劓刵人。”

【今译】

在于大，也不在于小。要使不顺从的顺从，不努力的努力。’啊！你这个年轻人，你的职责就是宽大对待殷民，也是辅佐王家安定天命，把这些殷民改造成新的百姓。”

4. 王说：“啊！封，要认真通晓那些刑罚。人有小罪，不是由於过失，而是经常明知故犯；这样，即使他的罪行小，却不可不杀。人有大罪，不是坚持错误到底；他已经认识了他的罪过，又是偶然犯罪，这个人就不可杀。”

王说：“啊！封。能够顺从这样去做，就都会使大家心悦诚服；人民就会互相告诫，和顺相处。好像自己有病一样看待臣民犯罪，臣民就会完全抛弃咎恶；好像保护小孩一样保护臣民，臣民就会康乐安定。

“不是你姬封刑人杀人，没有人敢刑人杀人；不是你姬封有令要割鼻断耳，没有人敢施行割鼻断耳的刑罚。”



read the saying,—‘Dissatisfaction is caused not so much by great things, or by small things, as by (a ruler’s) observance of principle or the reverse, and by his energy of conduct or the reverse.’ Yes, it is yours, O little one,—it is your business to enlarge the royal (influence), and to protect the people of Yin in harmony with their feelings. Thus also shall, you assist the king, consolidating the appointment of Heaven, and renovating the people.”

The king says, “Oh! Feng, deal reverently and intelligently in your infliction of punishments. When men commit small crimes, which are not mischances, but purposed, they of themselves doing what is contrary to the laws intentionally, though their crimes be but small, you may not but put them to death. But in the case of great crimes, which were not purposed, but from mischance and misfortune, accidental, if the transgressors confess their guilt without reserve, you must not put them to death.”

The king says, “Oh! Feng, there must be the orderly regulation (of this matter). When you show a great discrimination, subduing (men’s hearts), the people will admonish one another, and strive to be obedient. (Deal firmly yet tenderly with evil), as if it were a disease in your own person, and the people will entirely put away their faults;. (Deal with them) as if you were protecting your own infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly. It is not you, O Feng, who (can presume to) inflict a (severe) punishment or death upon a man;—do not, to please yourself, so punish a man or put him to death.” Moreover, he says, “It is not you, O Feng, who (can presume to inflict a lighter punishment), cutting off a man’s nose or ears;—do not, to please yourself, cause a man’s nose or ears to be cut off.”



【原文】

王曰：“外事，汝陈时臬司师，兹殷罚有伦。”

又曰：“要囚，服念五六日至于旬时，丕蔽要囚。”

王曰：“汝陈时臬事罚。蔽殷彝，用其义刑义杀，勿庸以次汝封。乃汝尽逊曰时叙，惟曰未有逊事。已！汝惟小子，未其有若汝封之心。朕心朕德，惟乃知。

“凡民自得罪：寇攘奸宄，杀越人于货，罔不畏死，罔弗憝。”

王曰：“封，元恶大憝，矧惟不孝不友。子弗祗服厥父事，大伤厥考心；于父不能字厥子，乃疾厥子；于弟弗念天显，乃弗克恭厥兄；兄亦不念鞠子哀，大不友于弟。惟吊兹，不于我政人得罪，天惟与我

【今译】

王说：“判断案件，你要宣布这些法则管理狱官，这样，按照殷人的刑罚治理就会有条理。”

王又说：“囚禁的犯人，必须考虑五六天，至于十天，才判决他们。”

王说：“你宣布这些法律进行惩罚。判断案件，要依据殷人的常法，采用适宜的刑杀条律，不要顺从你的心意。假如完全顺从你的意志断案才叫顺当，应当说不会有顺当的事。唉！你是年轻人，不可顺从你姬封的心意。我的心意，你要理解。

“老百姓凡因这些行为犯罪：偷窃、抢夺、内外作乱、杀远人取财货，强横不怕死。这些罪行没有人不怨恨。”

王说：“封啊，首恶招人大怨，但还有些不孝顺不友爱的人更可恶。儿子不认真办理他父亲的事，大伤他父亲的心；父亲不能爱怜他的儿子，反而厌恶儿子；弟弟不顾天伦，不尊敬他的哥哥；哥哥也不顾念小弟弟的痛苦，对小弟弟极不友爱。父子兄弟之间竟然到了这种



The king says, "In things beyond (your immediate supervision), have laws set forth which the officers may observe, and these should be the penal laws of Yin which were rightly ordered." He also says, "In examining the evidence in (criminal) cases, reflect upon it for five or six days, yea, for ten days or three months. You may then boldly come to a decision in such cases."

The king says, "In setting forth the business of the laws, the punishments will be determined by (what were) the regular laws of Yin. But you must see that those punishments, and (especially) the penalty of death, be righteous. And you must not let them be warped to agree with your own inclinations, O Feng. Then shall they be entirely accordant with right, and you may say, 'They are properly ordered'; yet you must say (at the same time), 'Perhaps they are not yet entirely accordant with right.' Yes, though you are the little one, who has a heart like you, O Feng? My heart and my virtue are also known to you.

"All who of themselves commit crimes, robbing, stealing, practising villainy and treachery, and who kill men or violently assault them to take their property, being reckless and fearless of death;—these are abhorred by all."

The king says, "O Feng, such great criminals are greatly abhorred, and how much more (detestable) are the unfilial and unbrotherly! —As the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father's heart, and the father who can (no longer) love his son, but hates him; as the younger brother who does not think of the manifest will of Heaven, and refuses to respect his elder brother, and the elder brother who does not think of the toil of their parents in bringing up their children,



【原文】

民彝大泯乱。曰：乃其速由文王作罚，刑兹无赦。

“不率大戛，矧惟外庶子、训人惟厥正人越小臣、诸节。乃别播敷造民，大誉弗念弗庸，瘝厥君；时乃引恶，惟朕憝。已！汝乃其速由兹义率杀。

“亦惟君惟长，不能厥家人越厥小臣、外正；惟威惟虐，大放王命；乃非德用乂。

“汝亦罔不克敬典，乃由裕民，惟文王之敬忌；乃裕民曰：‘我惟有及。’则予一人以怿。”

5. 王曰：“封，爽惟民迪吉康，我时其惟殷先哲王德，用康乂民

【今译】

地步，不由行政人员去惩罚他们，上帝赋予老百姓的常法就会大混乱。我说，就要赶快使用文王制定的刑罚，惩罚这些人，不要赦免。

“不遵守国家大法的，也有诸侯国的庶子、训人和正人、小臣、诸节等官员。竟然另外发布政令，告谕百姓，他们支持不执行国家法令的人，危害国君；这就助长了恶人，我怨恨他们。唉！你就要迅速根据这些条例捕杀他们。

“也有这种情况，诸侯不能教育好他们的家人和内外官员，作威肆虐，完全放弃王命；这些人就不可用德去治理。

“你切不可用你的法律去制裁他们。要思念文王的赏善罚恶；教导老百姓说：‘我们只求继承文王。’那么，我就高兴了。”

5. 王说：“封啊，老百姓受到教化才会善良安定，我们时时要思



and is very unfriendly to his junior. If we who are charged with government do not treat parties who proceed to such wickedness as offenders, the laws (of our nature) given by Heaven to our people will be thrown into great disorder and destroyed. You must resolve to deal speedily with such according to the penal laws of king Wen, punishing them severely and not pardoning.

“Those who are disobedient (to natural principles) are to be thus subjected to the laws;—how much more the officers employed in your state as the instructors of the youth, the heads of the official departments, and the smaller officers charged with their several commissions, when they propagate other lessons, seeking the praise of the people, not thinking (of their duty), nor using (the rules for their offices), but distressing their ruler! These lead on (the people) to wickedness, and are an abomination to me. Shall they be let alone? Do you speedily, according to what is right, put them to death.

“And you will be yourself ruler and president;—if you cannot manage your own household, with your smaller officers, and the heads of departments in the state, but use only terror and violence, you will greatly set aside the royal charge, and be trying to regulate your state contrary to virtue. You must in everything reverence the statutes, and proceed by them to the happy rule of the people. There were the reverence of king Wen and his caution; in proceeding by them to the happy rule of the people, say, ‘If I could only attain to them—.’ So will you make me, the One man, to rejoice.”

The king says, “O Feng, when I think clearly of the people, I see that they should be led (by example) to happiness and tran-



【原文】

作求。矧今民罔迪，不适；不迪，则罔政在厥邦。”

王曰：“封，予惟不可不监，告汝德之说于罚之行。今惟民不静，未戾厥心，迪屡未同，爽惟天其罚殛我，我其不怨。惟厥罪无在大，亦无在多，矧曰其尚显闻于天？”

王曰：“呜呼！封，敬哉！无作怨，勿用非谋非彝蔽时忱。丕则敏德，用康乃心，顾乃德，远乃猷，裕乃以；民宁，不汝瑕殄。”

6. 王曰：“呜呼！肆！汝小子封。惟命不于常，汝念哉！无我殄享，明乃服命，高乃听，用康乂民。”

【今译】

念着殷代圣明先王的德政，用来安治殷民，作为法则。并且现在的殷民不加教导，就不会善良；不加教导，就没有什么善政可言了。”

王说：“封啊，我们不可不看清这些，我要告诉你施行德政的意见和招致责罚的道理。现在老百姓不安静，没有安定他们的心，屡屡发生不和谐的事，上天将要责罚我们，我们不可怨恨。本来罪过不在于大，也不在于多，何况这些罪过还被上天明显地听到呢？”

王说：“唉！封，要谨慎啊！不要制造怨恨，不要使用不好的计谋，不要采取不合法的措施，以蔽塞你的诚心。要努力施行德政，以安定殷民的心，挂记他们的善德，宽缓他们的徭役，丰足他们的衣食；人民安宁了，上天就不会责备和抛弃你了。”

6. 王说：“啊，努力吧！你这年轻的姬封。天命无常，你要记住啊！不要抛弃我的忠告，要明确你的职责和使命，听取各方意见，用来安治老百姓。”

王这样说：“去吧！姬封啊，不要放弃警惕，经常听取我的忠告，



quillity. I think of the virtue of the former wise kings of Yin, whereby they tranquillized and regulated the people, and rouse myself to make it my own. Moreover, the people now are sure to follow a leader. If one do not lead them, he cannot be said to exercise a government in their state. ”

The king says, “O Feng, I can not dispense with the inspection (of the ancients), and I make this declaration to you about virtue in the use of punishments. Now the people are not quiet; they have not yet stilled their minds; notwithstanding my leading of them, they have not come to accord (with my government). I clearly consider that severe as are the inflictions of Heaven on me, I dare not murmur. The crimes (of the people), though they were not great or many, (would all be chargeable on me), and how much more shall this be said when the report of them goes up so manifestly to heaven!”

The king says, “Oh! Feng, be reverent! Do not do what will cause murmurings; and do not use bad counsels and uncommon ways. With the determination of sincerity, give yourself to imitate the active virtue (of the ancients). Hereby give repose to your mind, examine your virtue, send far forward your plans; and thus by your generous forbearance you will make the people repose in what is good, and I shall not have to blame you or cast you off. ”

The king says, “Oh! you, Feng, the little one, (Heaven’s) appointments are not unchanging. Think of this, and do not make me deprive you of your dignity. Make illustrious the charge which you have received; exalt (the instructions) which you have heard, and tranquillize and regulate the people accordingly. ”

The king speaks to this effect: “Go, Feng. Do not disregard

【原文】

王若曰：“往哉！封，勿替敬，典听朕告，汝乃以殷民世享。”

【今译】

你就可以拥有这些殷民世世代代不绝了。”



the statutes you should reverence; hearken to what I have told you;—so shall you among the people of Yin enjoy (your dignity), and hand it down to your posterity.”



酒 诰

【原文】

1. 王若曰：“明大命于妹邦。乃穆考文王，肇国在西土。厥诰毖庶邦庶士，越少正御事朝夕曰：‘祀兹酒。’惟天降命，肇我民，惟元祀。天降威，我民用大乱丧德，亦罔非酒惟行；越小大邦用丧，亦罔非酒惟辜。”

“文王诰教小子有正有事，无彝酒；越庶国，饮惟祀，德将无醉。”

【今译】

1. 王这样说：“把我的命令宣布给妹邦的百姓吧。当初，尊敬的父亲文王在西方创立国家。他早晚告诫各国诸侯、各位卿士和各级官员说：‘祭祀时，才饮酒。’上帝降下教令，劝勉我们臣民，只在大祭时才饮酒。上天降我大命，自改元之日起，百姓该过新生活了。天命威严，我们臣民平常大乱失德，无非是酗酒造成的过错；以至于大大小小国家的丧亡，也无非是喝酒造成的罪恶。”

“文王还告诫在王朝担任大小官职的子孙，不要经常饮酒。告诫在诸侯国任职的子孙，只有在祭祀时才可以饮酒，并要用德扶持，不要喝醉了。文王还告诫我们的臣民要教导子孙珍惜粮食，使我们的思





The Announcement about Drunkenness

The king speaks to the following effect:—"Do you clearly make known my great commands in the country of Mei. When your reverent father, King Wen, laid the foundations of our kingdom in the western region, he delivered announcements and cautions to (the princes of) the various regions, and to all his (high) officers, with their assistants, and the managers of affairs, saying, morning and evening, 'At sacrifices spirits should be employed.' When Heaven was sending down its favouring decree, and laying the foundations of (the eminence of) our people, (spirits) were used only at the great sacrifices. When Heaven sends down its terrors, and our people are thereby greatly disorganized and lose their virtue, this may be traced invariably to their indulgence in spirits; yea, the ruin of states, small and great, (by these terrors), has been caused invariably by their guilt in the use of spirits.

"King Wen admonished and instructed the young nobles, who were charged with office or in any employment, that they should not ordinarily use spirits; and throughout all the states, he required that such should drink spirits only on occasion of sacrifices, and that then virtue should preside so that there might be no drunkenness."

He said, "Let my people teach their young men that they are to love only the productions of the soil, for so will their hearts be good. Let the young also hearken wisely to the constant instruc-



【原文】

惟曰我民迪小子惟土物爱，厥心臧。聪听祖考之彝训，越小大德！

“小子惟一妹土，嗣尔股肱，纯其艺黍稷，奔走事厥考厥长。肇牵车牛，远服贾用，孝养厥父母；厥父母庆，自洗腆，致用酒。”

“庶士有正越庶伯君子，其尔典听朕教！尔大克羞耆惟君，尔乃饮食醉饱。丕惟曰尔克永观省，作稽中德，尔尚克羞馈祀。尔乃自介用逸，兹乃允惟王正事之臣。兹亦惟天若元德，永不忘在王家。”

2. 王曰：“封，我西土棗徂邦君御事小子，尚克用文王教，不腆于酒，故我至于今，克受殷之命。”

王曰：“封，我闻惟曰：‘在昔殷先哲王迪畏天显小民，经德秉哲。自成汤咸至于帝乙，成王畏相惟御事，厥棗有恭，不敢自暇自逸，矧

【今译】

想善良。我们要听清前辈的常训，发扬大大小小的美德！

“殷民们，你们要专心住在卫国，用你们的手足力量，专心种植黍稷，勤勉地奉事你们的父兄。农事完毕以后，勉力牵牛赶车，到外地去从事贸易，孝顺赡养父母；父母高兴，你们办了美好丰盛的膳食，可以饮酒。”

“各级官员们，你们要经常听从我的教导！你们都能进献酒食给老人和君主，你们就能喝醉吃饱。我想，你们能够长久地观察自己，使自己的言行符合中正的美德，你们还能够参加国君举行的祭祀。你们如果自己限制行乐饮酒，这样就能长期成为王家的治事官员。这些是上帝所赞赏的大德，将永远不会被王家忘记。”

2. 王说：“封啊，我们西土辅导帮助诸侯和官员，常常能够遵从文王的教导，不多饮酒，所以我们到今天，能够代受殷的天命。”

王说：“封啊，我听到有人说：‘过去，殷的先人明王畏惧天命和百姓，施行德政，保持恭敬。从成汤延续到帝乙，明君贤相都考虑着



tions of their fathers; and let them look at all virtuous actions, whether great or small, in the same light (with watchful heed).

“(Ye people of) the land of Wei, if you can employ your limbs, largely cultivating your millets, and hastening about in the service of your fathers and elders; and if, with your carts and oxen, you traffic diligently to a distance, that you may thereby filially minister to your parents; then, when your parents are happy, you may set forth your spirits clear and strong, and use them.

“Hearken constantly to my instructions, all ye my (high) officers and ye heads of departments, all ye, my noble chiefs;—when ye have largely done your duty in ministering to your aged, and serving your ruler, ye may eat and drink freely and to satiety. And to speak of greater things:—when you can maintain a constant, watchful examination of yourselves, and your conduct is in accordance with correct. virtue, then may you present the offerings of sacrifice, and at the same time indulge yourselves in festivity. In such case you will indeed be ministers doing right service to your king, and Heaven likewise will approve your great virtue, so that you shall never be forgotten in the royal House.”

The king says, “O Feng, in our western region, the princes of states, and the young (nobles), sons of the managers of affairs, who in former days assisted king Wen, were all able to obey his lessons, and abstain from excess in the use of spirits; and so it is that I have now received the appointment which belonged to Yin.”

The king says. “O Feng, I have heard it said that formerly the first wise king of Yin manifested a reverential awe of the bright principles of Heaven and of the lower people, acting accordingly, steadfast in his virtue, and holding fast his wisdom. From him Tang



【原文】

曰其敢崇饮？越在外服，侯甸男卫邦伯；越在内服，百僚庶尹惟亚惟服、宗工越百姓里居，罔敢湎于酒。不惟不敢，亦不暇，惟助成王德显越，尹人祗辟。’

“我闻亦惟曰：‘在今后嗣王，酣，身厥命，罔显于民祗，保越怨不易。诞惟厥纵，淫佚于非彝，用燕丧威仪，民罔不蠹伤心。惟荒腆于酒，不惟自息乃逸。厥心疾很，不克畏死。辜在商邑，越殷国灭，无罹。弗惟德馨香祀，登闻于天；诞惟民怨，庶群自酒，腥闻在上。

【今译】

治理国事，他们颁布政令很认真，不敢自己安闲逸乐，哪敢聚众饮酒呢？在外地的侯、甸、男、卫的诸侯，在朝中的各级官员、宗室贵族以及退休在家的官员，没有人敢酣乐在酒中。不但不敢，他们也没有闲暇，他们只想助成王德使它显扬，助成长官重视法令。’

“我听到也有人说：‘在近世的商纣王，好酒，以为有命在天，不明白臣民的痛苦，安于做那些招民怨恨的事情而不改。他大作淫乱，游乐在违反常法的活动之中，因宴乐而丧失了威仪，臣民没有不悲痛伤心的。商纣王只想放纵于酒，不想自己制止的淫乐。他心地狠恶，不能以死来畏惧他。他作恶在商都，对于殷国的灭亡，没有忧虑过。没有明德芳香的祭祀闻于上天；只有老百姓的怨气、只有群臣私自饮



the Successful, down to Emperor Yi, all completed their royal virtue and revered their chief ministers, so that their managers of affairs respectfully discharged their helping duties, and dared not to allow themselves in idleness and pleasure;—how much less would they dare to indulge themselves in drinking! Moreover, in the exterior domains, (the princes of) the Hou, Dian, Nan, and Wei (states) , with their presiding chiefs and in the interior domain, all the various officers, the directors of the several departments, the inferior officers and employs, the heads of great houses, and the men of distinguished name living in retirement, all eschewed indulgence in spirits. Not only did they not dare to indulge in them, but the) , had not leisure to do so, being occupied with helping to complete the sovereigns virtue and make it more illustrious, and helping the directors of affairs reverently to attend to his service.

“I have heard it said likewise, that the last successor of those kings was addicted to drink, so that no charges came from him brightly before the people, and he was (as if) reverently and unchangingly bent on doing and cherishing what provoked resentment. Greatly abandoned to extraordinary lewdness and dissipation, for pleasure’s sake he sacrificed all his majesty. The people were all sorely grieved and wounded in heart; but he gave himself wildly up to drink, not thinking of restraining himself and continuing his excess till his mind was frenzied, and he had no fear of death. His crimes (accumulated) in the capital of Shang; and though the extinction of the dynasty (was imminent) , this gave him no concern, and he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven. The rank odour of the people’s resentments, and the drunkenness of his herd of creatures, went



【原文】

故天降丧于殷，罔爱于殷，惟逸。天非虐，惟民自速辜。”

3. 王曰：“封，予不惟若兹多诰。古人有言曰：‘人无于水监，当于民监。’今惟殷坠厥命，我其可不大监抚于时！予惟曰汝劓毖殷献臣，侯甸男卫，矧太史友、内史友、越献臣百宗工，矧惟尔事、服休服采，矧惟若畴，圻父薄违、农父若保、宏父定辟：‘矧汝刚制于酒！’

“厥或诰曰：‘群饮。’汝勿佚，尽执拘以归于周，予其杀。又惟殷之迪诸臣惟工，乃湏于酒，勿庸杀之，姑惟教之。有斯明享，乃不

【今译】

酒的腥气闻于上天。所以，上帝对殷邦降下了灾祸，不喜欢殷国，就是淫乐的缘故。上帝并不暴虐，是殷民自己招来了罪罚。”

3. 王说：“封啊，我不想如此多话了。古人有话说：‘人不要只从水中察看，应当从民情上察看。’现在殷商已丧失了天命，我们难道可以不大大地省察这个事实？我想告诉你，你要慎重告诫殷国的遗臣，侯、甸、男、卫的诸侯，又朝中记事记言的史官，贤良的大臣和许多尊贵的官员，还有你的治事官员，管理游宴休息和祭祀的近臣，还有你的三卿，负责讨伐叛乱的圻父，安保百姓的农父，制定法度的宏父：‘要坚决断绝饮酒！’

“假若有人报告说：‘有人群聚饮酒。’你不要放纵他们，要全部逮捕起来送到周京，我将杀掉他们。又殷商的遗臣百官酣乐在酒中，不用杀他们，暂且先教育他们。有这样明显的劝诫，若还有人不遵从



loudly up on high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin, and showed no love for it—because of such excesses. There is not any cruel oppression of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt, (and its punishment). ”

The king says, “O Feng, I make you this long announcement, not (for the pleasure of doing so); but the ancients have said, ‘Let not men look into water; let them look into the glass of other people.’ Now that Yin has lost its appointment, ought we not to look much to it as our glass, (and learn) how to secure the repose of our time? I say to you,—Strenuously warn the worthy ministers of Yin, and (the princes) in the Hou, the Dian, the Nan, and the Wei domains; and still more your friends, the great Recorder and the Recorder of the Interior, and all your worthy ministers, the heads of great Houses; and still more those whom you serve, with whom you calmly discuss matters, and who carry out your measures; and still more those who are, as it were, your mates;—your Minister of War who deals with the rebellious, your Minister of Instruction who is like a protector to the people, and your Minister of Works who settles the boundaries; and above all, do you strictly keep yourself from drink.

“If you are informed that there are companies that drink together, do not fail to apprehend them all, and send them here to Zhou, where I may put them to death. As to the ministers and officers of Yin who were led to it and became addicted to drink, it is not necessary to put them to death (at once);—let them be taught for a time. If they follow these (lessons of mine), I will give them

【原文】

用我教辞，惟我一人弗恤弗蠲，乃事时同于杀。”

王曰：“封，汝典听朕毖，勿辩乃司民湏于酒。”

【今译】

我的教令，我不会怜惜，不会赦免，处治这类人，同群聚饮酒者一样，要杀。”

王说：“封啊，你要经常听从我的告诫，不要使你的官员酣乐在酒中。”



bright distinction. If they disregard my lessons, then I, the One man, will show them no pity. As they cannot change their way, they shall be classed with those who are to be put to death. ”

The king says, “O Feng, give constant heed to my admonitions. If you do not rightly manage the officers, the people will continue lost in drunkenness. ”





梓 材

【原文】

1. 王曰：“封，以厥庶民暨厥臣达大家，以厥臣达王惟邦君，汝若恒。

“越曰我有师师、司徒、司马、司空、尹旅。曰：‘予罔厉杀人。’亦厥君先敬劳，肆徂厥敬劳！”

“肆往，奸宄、杀人、历人，宥；肆亦见厥君事、戕败人，宥。

“王启监，厥乱为民。曰：‘无胥戕，无胥虐，至于敬寡，至于属妇，合由以容。’王其效邦君越御事，厥命曷以？‘引养引恬。’自古王若兹监，罔攸辟！”

【今译】

1. 王说：“封啊，从殷的老百姓和他们的官员到卿大夫，从他们的官员到诸侯和国君，你要顺从常典。

“告诉我们的各位官长、司徒、司马、司空、大夫和众士。说：‘我们不滥杀无罪的人。’各位邦君也当以敬重慰劳为先，努力去施行那些敬重慰劳人民的事吧！”

“对往日内外作乱的罪犯、杀人的罪犯、虏人的罪犯，要宽恕；对往日泄露国君大事的罪犯、残坏人体的罪犯，也要宽恕。

“王者建立诸侯，大率在于教化人民。他说：‘不要互相残害，不要互相压迫，对于鳏夫寡妇，至于贱妾，要同样教导和宽容。’王者教导诸侯和诸侯国的官员，他的诰命是什么呢？就是‘长养百姓，长安百姓’。自古君王都像这样监督，没有什么偏差！”



The Timber of the Rottlera

The king says, "O Feng, to secure a good understanding between the multitudes of his people and his ministers (on the one hand), and the great families (on the other); and (again) to secure the same between all the subjects under his charge, and the sovereign:—is the part of the ruler of a state. If you regularly, in giving out your orders, say, 'My instructors whom I am to follow, my Minister of Instruction, my Minister of War, and my Minister of Works, my heads of departments, and all ye, my officers, I will on no account put any to death oppressively—.' Let the ruler also set the example of respecting and encouraging (the people), and these will (also) proceed to respect and encourage them. Then let him go on, in dealing with villainy and treachery, with murderers and harbourers of criminals, to exercise clemency (where it can be done), and these will likewise do the same with those who have assaulted others and injured their property. When sovereigns appointed overseers (of states), they did so in order to the government of the people, and said to them, 'Do not give way to violence or oppression, but go on to show reverent regard for the friendless, and find helping connexions for (destitute) women.' Deal with all according to this method, and cherish them. And when sovereigns gave their injunctions to the rulers of states, and their managers of affairs, what was their charge? It was that they should lead the people) to the enjoyment of plenty and peace. Such was the way of the kings from



【原文】

2. “惟曰：若稽田，既勤敷菑，惟其陈修，为厥疆畎。若作室家，既勤垣墉，惟其涂墍茨。若作梓材，既勤朴斲，惟其涂丹雘。

“今王惟曰：先王既勤用明德，怀为夹，庶邦享作，兄弟方来。亦既用明德，后式典集，庶邦丕享。

“皇天既付中国民越厥疆土于先王，肆王惟德用，和怵先后迷民，用怵先王受命。已！若兹监，惟曰欲至于万年，惟王子子子孙孙永保民。”

【今译】

2. “我想：好像作田，既已勤劳地开垦、播种，就应当考虑整治土地，修筑田界，开挖水沟。好比造房屋，既已勤劳地筑起了墙壁，就应当考虑完成涂泥和盖屋的工作。好比制作梓木器具，既已勤劳地剥皮砍削，就应当考虑完成彩饰的工作。

“成王认为：先王既已努力施行明德去感召人心，使各国都来进贡勤王，兄弟邦国也都来了。也是因为施行了明德，诸侯就依据常例来朝见，众国依常例来进贡。

“上天既已把中国的臣民和疆土都付给先王，今王也只有施行德政，来和悦、教导殷商那些受了迷惑的人民，用来完成先王所受的使命。唉！像这样治理殷民，我想你将传到万年，周王的子子子孙孙永远保有殷民。”



of old. An overseer is to eschew the use of punishments. ”

(The king) says , “ As in the management of a field , when the soil has been all laboriously turned up , they have to proceed by orderly arrangements to make its boundaries and water-courses ; as in building a house , after all the toil on its walls . they have to plaster and thatch it ; as in working with the wood of the rottlera , when the toil of the coarser and finer operations has been completed , they have to apply the paint of red and other colours ; — (so do you finish for me the work which I have begun in the state of Wei .) ”

Now let your majesty say , “ The former kings diligently employed their illustrious virtue , and produced such attachment by their cherishing (of the princes) , that from all the states they brought offerings , and came with brotherly affection from all quarters , and likewise showed their virtue illustrious . Do you , O sovereign , use their methods to attach (the princes) , and all the states will largely come with offerings . Great Heaven having given this Middle Kingdom with its people and territories to the former kings , do you , our present sovereign , display your virtue , effecting a gentle harmony among the deluded people , leading and urging them on ; — so (also) will you comfort the former kings , who received the appointment (from Heaven) . Yes , make these things your study . I say so simply from my wish that (your dynasty) may continue for myriads of years , and your descendants always be the protectors of the people . ”



召 诰

【原文】

1. 惟二月既望，越六日乙未，王朝步自周，则至于丰。

惟太保先周公相宅。越若来三月，惟丙午朏。越三日戊申，太保朝至于洛，卜宅。厥既得卜，则经营。越三日庚戌，太保乃以庶殷攻位于洛汭。越五日甲寅，位成。

若翼日乙卯，周公朝至于洛，则达观于新邑营。越三日丁巳，用牲于郊，牛二。越翼日戊午，乃社于新邑，牛一，羊一，豕一。越七日甲子，周公乃朝用书命庶殷侯甸男邦伯。厥既命殷庶，庶殷丕作。

【今译】

1. 二月十六日以后，到第六天是乙未日，成王早晨从镐京步行，到了丰邑。

太保召公在周公之前，到洛地视察营建的地址。到了下三月丙午日，新月初现光辉。又过了第三天戊申日，太保早晨到达了洛地，卜问所选的地址。太保已经得了吉兆，就规划起来。又过了三天是庚戌日，太保便率领众多殷民，在洛水与黄河汇合的地方测定新邑的位置。又过了第五天是甲寅日，位置确定了。

到了明日是乙卯日，周公早晨到达洛地，就全面视察新邑的区域。又过了三天是丁巳日，在南郊用牲祭祀上帝，用了两头牛。到明日戊午日，又在新邑举行祭地的典礼，用了一头牛、一头羊和一头猪。又过了七天是甲子日，周公就在早晨用诰书命令殷民以及侯、甸、男各国诸侯营建洛邑。已经命令了殷民之后，殷民就大举动工。



The Announcement of the Duke of Shao

In the second month, on the day Yi-wei, six days after full moon, the king proceeded in the morning from Zhou to Feng^①.

(Thence) the Grand Guardian went before the duke of Zhou to survey the locality (of the new capital); and in the third month, on the day Wu-shen, the third day after the first appearance of the moon on Bing-wu, he came in the morning to Luo. He divined by the tortoiseshell about the (several) localities, and having obtained favourable indications, he set about laying out the plan (of the city). On Geng-xu, the third day after, he led the people of Yin to prepare the various sites on the north of the Luo; and this work was completed on Jia-yin, the fifth day after.

On Yi-mao, the day following, the duke of Zhou came in the morning to Luo, and thoroughly inspected the plan of the new city. On Ding-si, the third day after, he offered two bulls as victims in the (northern and southern) suburbs; and on the morrow, Wu-wu, at the altar to the spirit of the land in the new city, he sacrificed a bull, a ram, and a boar.

After seven days, on Jia-zi, in the morning, from his written (specifications) he gave their several orders to the people of Yin, and to the presiding chiefs of the princes from the Hou, Dian, and Nan domains. When the people of Yin had thus received their or-

① That is, from Wu's capital of Hao to King Wen's at Feng.



【原文】

太保乃以庶邦冢君出取币，乃复入锡周公。曰：“拜手稽首旅王，若公诰告庶殷越自乃御事。

2. “呜呼！皇天上帝改厥元子，兹大国殷之命。惟王受命，无疆惟休，亦无疆惟恤。呜呼！曷其奈何弗敬？

“天既遐终大邦殷之命，兹殷多先哲王在天，越厥后王后民，兹服厥命。厥终，智藏瘝在。夫知保抱携持厥妇子，以哀吁天，徂厥亡，出执。呜呼！天亦哀于四方民，其眷命用懋。王其疾敬德！

“相古先民有夏，天迪从子保，面稽天若。今时既坠厥命。今相

【今译】

太保于是同众国君长出来取了币帛，再入内进献给周公。太保说：“跪拜叩头报告我王，请顺从周公的意见告诫殷民和任用殷商的旧臣。

2. “啊！皇天上帝改变了天下的元首，结束了大国殷的福命。大王接受了任命，美好无穷无尽，忧患也无穷无尽。啊！怎么能够不谨慎啊？

“上帝早就要结束大国殷的福命，这个殷国许多圣明的先王都在天上，因此殷商后来的君王和臣民，才能够享受着天命。到了纣王的末年，明智的人隐藏了，害民的人在位。人们只知护着、抱着、牵着、扶着他们的妻子儿女，悲哀地呼告上天，诅咒纣王灭亡，企图脱离困境。啊！上帝也哀怜四方的老百姓，它眷顾百姓的命运因此更改殷命。大王要赶快认真施行德政呀！

“观察古时候的先民夏代，听从上帝教导，努力考求天意，曾受到上天慈护。现在已经丧失了王命。现在观察殷代，听从上帝教导，



ders, they arose and entered with vigour on their work.

(When the work was drawing to a completion), the Grand-Guardian went out with the hereditary princes of the various states to bring their offerings (for the king); and when he entered again, he gave them to the duke of Zhou, saying, "With my hands to my head and my head to the ground, I present these to his Majesty and your Grace. Announcements for the information of the multitudes of Yin must come from you, with whom is the management of affairs.

"Oh! God (dwelling in) the great heavens has changed his decree respecting his great son and the great dynasty of Yin. Our king has received that decree. Unbounded is the happiness connected with it, and unbounded is the anxiety:—Oh! how can he be other than reverent? When Heaven rejected and made an end of the decree in favour of the great dynasty of Yin, there were many of its former wise kings in heaven. The king, however, who had succeeded to them, the last of his race, from the time of his entering into their appointment, proceeded in such a way as at last to keep the wise in obscurity and the vicious in office. The poor people in such a case, carrying their children and leading their wives, made their moan to Heaven. They even fled away, but were apprehended again. Oh! Heaven had compassion on the people of the four quarters; its favouring decree lighted on our earnest (founders). Let the king sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence.

"Examining the men of antiquity, there was the (founder of the) Xia dynasty. Heaven guided (his mind), allowed his descendants (to succeed him), and protected them. He acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it. But in process of time the de-



【原文】

有殷，天迪格保；面稽天若，今时既坠厥命。今冲子嗣，则无遗寿者，曰其稽我古人之德，矧曰其有能稽谋自天！

3. “呜呼！有王虽小，元子哉！其丕能减于小民。今休：王不敢后，用顾畏于民曷；王来绍上帝，自服于土中。

“旦曰：‘其作大邑，其自时配皇天，毖祀于上下，其自时中义；王厥有成命治民。’今休：王先服殷御事，比介于我有周御事，节性惟日其迈。

4. “王敬作所，不可不敬德。

【今译】

努力考求天意，现在也已经丧失了王命。当今你这年轻人继承了王位，不要遗弃老成人，考求我们古代先王的德政，何况说有能考求天意的人呢？

3. “啊！王虽然年轻，却是元首啊！要特别能够和悦对待老百姓。现在可喜的是：王不敢迟缓营建洛邑，对殷民的艰难险阻常常顾念和畏惧；王来卜问上帝，打算亲自在洛邑治理他们。

“姬旦对我说：‘要营建洛邑，要从这里以始祖后稷配天，谨慎祭祀天地，要从这个中心地方统治天下；王已经有成命治理人民了。’现在可喜的是：王重视使用殷商旧臣，并使他们亲近我们周王朝的治事官员，使他们和睦的感情一天天地增长。

4. “王重视造作新邑，不可以不重视行德。



cree in his favour fell to the ground. So also is it now when we examine the case of Yin. There was the same guiding (of its founder), who corrected (the errors of Xia), and (whose descendants) enjoyed the protection (of Heaven). He (also) acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it. But now the decree in favour of him has fallen to the ground. Our king has now come to the throne in his youth;—let him not slight the aged and experienced, for it may be said of them that they have studied the virtuous conduct of the ancients, and have matured their counsels in the sight of Heaven.

“Oh! although the king is young, yet he is the great son (of God). Let him effect a great harmony with the lower people, and that will be the blessing of the present time. Let not the king presume to be remiss in this, but continually regard and stand in awe of the perilous (uncertainty) of the people's (attachment). Let the king come here as the vice-gerent of God, and undertake (the duties of government) in this centre of the land. Dan said, ‘Now that this great city has been built, from henceforth he may be the mate of great Heaven, and reverently sacrifice to (the spirits) above and beneath; from henceforth he may from this central spot administer successful government.’ Thus shall the king enjoy the favouring regard (of Heaven) all-complete, and the government of the people will now be prosperous. Let the king first subdue to himself those who were the managers of affairs under Yin, associating them with the managers of affairs for our Zhou. This will regulate their (perverse) natures, and they will make daily advancement. Let the king make reverence the resting-place (of his mind);—he must maintain the virtue of reverence.



【原文】

“我不可不监于有夏，亦不可不监于有殷。我不敢知曰：有夏服天命，惟有历年；我不敢知曰：不其延。惟不敬厥德，乃早坠厥命。

“我不敢知曰：有殷受天命，惟有历年；我不敢知曰：不其延。惟不敬厥德，乃早坠厥命。今王嗣受厥命，我亦惟兹二国命，嗣若功。

“王乃初服。呜呼！若生子，罔不在厥初生，自貽哲命。今天其命哲，命吉凶，命历年；知今我初服，宅新邑。肆惟王其疾敬德！王其德之用，祈天永命。

“其惟王勿以小民淫用非彝，亦敢殄戮用乂民，若有功。其惟王位在德元，小民乃惟刑用于天下，越王显。上下勤恤，其曰我受天

【今译】

“我们不可不鉴戒夏代，也不可不鉴戒殷代。我不敢知晓说，夏接受天命有长久时间；我也不敢知晓说，夏的国运不会延长。我只知道他们不重视行德，才过早失去了他们的福命。

“我不敢知晓说，殷接受天命有长久时间；我也不敢知晓说，殷的国运不会延长。我只知道他们不重视行德，才过早失去了他们的福命。现今大王继承了治理天下的大命，我们也该思考这两个国家的命运，继承他们的功业。

“王是初理政事。啊！好像教养小孩一样，没有不在开初教养时，就亲自传给他明哲的教导的。现今上帝该给予明哲，给予吉祥，给予永年；因为上帝知道我王初理国事时，就住到新邑来了。现在王该加快认真推行德政！王该用德政，向上帝祈求长久的福命。

“愿王不要让老百姓肆行非法的事，也不要用来杀戮来治理老百姓，才会有功绩。愿王立于德臣之首，让老百姓效法施行，发扬王的美



"We should by all means survey the dynasties of Xia and Yin. I do not presume to know and say, 'The dynasty of Xia was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for(so many) years,' nor do I presume to know and say, 'It could not continue longer.' The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour prematurely fell to the ground. (Similarly), I do not presume to know and say, 'The dynasty of Yin was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for(so many) years', nor do I presume to know and say, 'It could not continue longer.' The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour fell prematurely to the ground. The king has now inherited the decree,—the same decree, I consider, which belonged to those two dynasties. Let him seek to inherit(the virtues of) their meritorious(sovereigns);—(Let him do this especially) at this commencement of his duties.

"Oh! it is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on(the training of) his early life, through which he may secure his wisdom, in the future, as if it were decreed to him. Now Heaven may have decreed wisdom(to the king); it may have decreed good fortune or bad; it may have decreed a(long) course of years;—we only know that now is with him the commencement of his duties. Dwelling in this new city, let the king now sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence. When he is all-devoted to this virtue, he may pray to Heaven for a long-abiding decree in his favour.

"In the position of king, let him not, because of the excesses of the people in violation of the laws, presume also to rule by the violent infliction of death;—when the people are regulated gently, the merit(of government) is seen. It is for him who is in the posi-

【原文】

命，丕若有夏历年，式勿替有殷历年，欲王以小民受天永命。”

5. 拜手稽首，曰：“予小臣敢以王之讎民百君子越友民，保受王威命明德。王末有成命，王亦显。我非敢勤，惟恭奉币，用供王能祈天永命。”

【今译】

德。君臣上下勤劳忧虑，也许可以说，我们接受的大命会像夏代那样久远，不止殷代那样久远，愿君王和臣民共同接受好上帝的永久大命。”

5. 召公跪拜叩头说：“我这小臣和殷的臣民以及友好的臣民，会安然接受王的威严命令，宣扬王的大德。王终于决定营建洛邑，王的威德终将昭著于后世。我不敢慰劳王，只想恭敬奉上币帛，以供王去好好祈求上帝的永久福命。”





tion of king to overtop all with his virtue. In this case the people will imitate him throughout the kingdom, and he will become still more illustrious. Let the king and his ministers labour with a mutual sympathy, saying, 'We have received the decree of Heaven, and it shall be great as the long-continued years of Xia;—yea, it shall not fail of the long-continued years of Yin.' I wish the king, through (the attachment of) the lower people, to receive the long-abiding decree of Heaven."

(The duke of Shao) then did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, and said, "I, a small minister, presume, with the king's (heretofore) hostile people and all their officers, and with his (loyal) friendly people, to maintain and receive His Majesty's dread command and brilliant virtue. That the king should finally obtain the decree all-complete, and that he should become illustrious,—this I do not presume to labour for. I only bring respectfully these offerings to present to His Majesty, to be used in his prayers to Heaven for its long-abiding decree."



洛 诰

【原文】

1. 周公拜手稽首曰，“朕复子明辟。王如弗敢及天基命定命，予乃胤保大相东土，其基作民明辟。

“予惟乙卯，朝至于洛师。我卜河朔黎水，我乃卜涧水东、瀍水西，惟洛食；我又卜瀍水东，亦惟洛食。佻来以图及献卜。”

王拜手稽首曰：“公不敢不敬天之休，来相宅，其作周匹，休！公既定宅，佻来，来，视予卜，休恒吉。我二人共贞。公其以予万亿年

【今译】

1. 周公跪拜叩头上奏于成王：“我归还您治理洛邑的重大使命。王如果不敢接受上帝的安定天下的指示，我就继续帮助你。我继太保之后，全面视察了洛邑，我王就要做万民的贤明君主了。

“我在乙卯这天，早晨到了洛邑。我先占卜了黄河北方的黎水地区，我又占卜了涧水以东、瀍水以西地区，仅有洛地吉利。我又占卜了瀍水以东地区，也仅有洛地吉利。于是请您来商量，且献上卜兆。”

成王跪拜叩头，回答说：“公不敢不敬重上帝赐给的福庆，亲自勘察地址，将营建与镐京相配的新邑，很好啊！公既已选定地址，使人请我来，我来了，又让我看了卜兆，我为卜兆并吉而高兴。让我们二人共同承当这一吉祥。愿公领着我永远敬重上帝赐给的福庆！跪拜叩



The Announcement Concerning Luo

The duke of Zhou did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, "Herewith I report (the execution of my commission) to my son my intelligent sovereign. The king appeared as if he would not presume to be present at Heaven's founding here the appointment (of our dynasty), and fixing it, whereupon I followed the (Grand-) Guardian, and made a great survey of this eastern region, hoping to found the place where he should become the intelligent sovereign of the people. On the day Yi-mao, I came in the morning to this capital of Luo. I (first) divined by the shell concerning (the ground about) the li-water on the north of the Huanghe River. I then divined concerning the east of the Jian-water, and the west of the Chan, when the (ground near the) Luo was indicated. Again I divined concerning the east of the Chan-water when the (ground near the) Luo was also indicated. I (now) send a messenger with a map, and to present the (result of the) divinations."

The king did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, "The duke did not presume not to acknowledge reverently the favour of Heaven, and has surveyed the locality where our Zhou may respond to that favour. Having settled the locality, he has sent his messenger to show me the divinations, favourable and always auspicious. We two must together sustain the responsibility. He has made provision for me (and my succes-



【原文】

敬天之休！拜手稽首诲言。”

2. 周公曰：“王，肇称殷礼，祀于新邑，咸秩无文。予齐百工，佅从王于周，予惟曰：‘庶有事。’今王即命曰：‘记功，宗以功作元祀。’惟命曰：‘汝受命笃弼，丕视功载，乃汝其悉自教工。’

“孺子其朋，孺子其朋，其往！无若火始焰焰；厥攸灼叙，弗其绝。厥若彝及抚事如予，惟以在周工往新邑。佅向即有僚，明作有功，惇大成裕，汝永有辞。”

公曰：“已！汝惟冲子，惟终。汝其敬识百辟享，亦识其有不享。享多仪，仪不及物，惟曰不享。惟不役志于享，凡民惟曰不享，惟事

【今译】

头接受我公的教诲。”

2. 周公说：“王啊，开始举行殷礼接见诸侯，在新邑举行祭祀，都已安排得有条不紊了。我率领百官，使他们在镐京听取王的意见，我想道：‘您或许可以去举行祭祀。’现在王命令道：‘记下功绩，宗人率领功臣举行大祭祀。’王又有命令道：‘你接受先王遗命，督导辅助，你全面查阅记功的书，然后你要悉心亲自指导这件事。’

“王啊！您要振奋，您要振奋，要到洛邑去！不要像火刚开始燃烧时那样气势很弱；那燃烧的余火，决不可让它熄灭。您要像我一样顺从常法，汲汲主持政事，率领在镐京的官员到洛邑去。使他们各就其职，勉力建立功勋，重视大事，完成大业。您就会永远获得美誉。”

周公说：“唉！您虽然是个年轻人，该考虑完成先王未竟的功业。您应该认真考察诸侯的享礼，也要考察其中也有不享的。享礼注重礼



sors), for myriads and tens of myriads of years, there reverently to acknowledge the favour of Heaven. With my hands, to my head and my head to the ground, (I receive) his instructive words. ”

The duke of Zhou said, “Let the king at first employ the ceremonies of Yin, and sacrifice in the new city, doing everything in an orderly way, but without display. I will marshal all the officers to attend you from Zhou, merely saying that probably there will be business to be done (in sacrificing). Let the king instantly issue an order to the effect that the most meritorious (ministers) shall have the first place in the sacrifices; and let him also say in an order, ‘You, in whose behalf the above order is issued, must give me your assistance with sincere earnestness.’ Truly display the record of merits, for it is you who must in everything teach the officers.

“My young son, can you indulge partiality? Eschew it, my young son. (If you do not), the consequence hereafter will be like a fire, which, a spark at first, blazes up, and by and by cannot be extinguished. Let your observance of the constant rules of right, and your soothing measures be like mine. Take only the officers that are in Zhou with you to the new city, and make them there join their (old) associates, with intelligent vigour establishing their merit, and with a generous largeness (of soul) completing (the public manners);—so shall you obtain an endless fame. ”

The duke said, “Yes, young as you are, be it yours to complete (the work of your predecessors). Cultivate (the spirit of) reverence, and you will know who among the princes (sincerely) present their offerings to you, and who do not. In connexion with those offerings there are man), observances. If the observances are not



【原文】

其爽侮。乃惟孺子颁，朕不暇听。

“朕教汝于棐民彝，汝乃是不夙，乃时惟不永哉！笃叙乃正父罔不若予，不敢废乃命。汝往敬哉！兹予其明农哉！彼裕我民，无远用戾。”

王若曰：“公！明保予冲子。公称丕显德，以予小子扬文武烈，奉答天命，和恒四方民，居师；惇宗将礼，称秩元祀，咸秩无文。惟公德明光于上下，勤施于四方。旁作穆穆，迓衡不迷。文武勤教，予冲

【今译】

节，假如礼节赶不上礼物，应该叫做不享。因为诸侯对享礼不诚心，老百姓就会认为可以不享。这样，政事将会错乱怠慢。我急想您来分担政务，我没有闲暇管理这么多啊！

“我教给您辅导百姓的法则，您假如不努力办这些事，您的善政就不会推广啊！全像我一样监督诂叙您的官长，他们就不敢废弃您的命令了。您到新邑去，要认真啊！现在我们要奋发努力啊！去教导好我们的百姓，远方的人因此也就归附了。”

王这样说：“公啊！你还是勉为其难，留下来保护我这年轻人。公发扬伟大光显的功德，使我继承文王、武王的事业，奉答上帝的教诲，使四方百姓和悦，居在洛邑；隆重举行大礼，办理好盛大的祭祀，都有条不紊。公的功德光照天地，勤劳施于四方，普遍推行美好的政事，虽遭横逆的事而不迷乱。文武百官努力实行您的教化，我这



equal to the articles, it must be held that there is no offering. When there is no service of the will in the offerings (of the princes) , all the people will then say , ‘ We need not (be troubled about) our offerings , ’ and affairs will be disturbed by errors and usurpations.

“ Do you , my young son , manifest everywhere my unwearied diligence , and listen to my instructions to you how to help the people to observe the constant rules of right. If you do not bestir yourself in these things , you will not be of long continuance. If you sincerely and fully carry out the course of your Directing father , and follow exactly my example , there will be no venturing to disregard your orders. Go , and be reverent. Henceforth I will study husbandry. There do you generously rule our people , and there is no distance from which they will not come to you. ”

The king spoke to this effect : “ O duke , you are the enlightener and sustainer of my youth. You have set forth the great and illustrious virtues , that I , notwithstanding my youth , may display a brilliant merit like that of Wen and Wu , reverently responding to the favouring decree of Heaven ; and harmonize and long preserve the people of all the regions , settling the multitudes (in Luo) ; and that I may give due honour to the great ceremony (of recording) the most distinguished (for their merits) , regulating the order for the first places at the sacrifices , and doing everything in an orderly manner without display. But your virtue , O duke , shines brightly above and beneath , and is displayed actively throughout the four quarters. On every hand appears the deep reverence (of your virtue) in securing the establishment of order , so that you fail in nothing of the earnest lessons of Wen and Wu. It is for me , the youth ,



【原文】

子夙夜毖祀。”

王曰：“公功棐迪，笃罔不若时。”

3. 王曰：“公！予小子其退，即辟于周，命公后。四方迪乱未定，于宗礼亦未克敕，公功迪将，其后监我士师工，诞保文武受民，乱为四辅。”

王曰：“公定，予往已。公功肃将祗欢，公无困哉！我惟无敎其康事，公勿替刑，四方其世享。”

4. 周公拜手稽首曰：“王命予来，承保乃文祖受命民，越乃光烈考武王弘，朕恭。

“孺子来相宅，其大惇典殷献民，乱为四方新辟，作周恭先。曰：

【今译】

年轻人就早晚慎重进行祭祀好了。”

王说：“公善于辅导，我真的无不顺从。”

3. 王说：“公啊！我这年轻人就要回去，在镐京就位了，请公继续治洛。四方经过教导治理，还没有安定，宗礼也没有完成，公善于教导扶持，要继续监督我们的各级官员，安定文王、武王所接受的殷民，做我的辅佐大臣。”

王说：“公留下吧！我要往镐京去了。公要好好地迅速地进行敬重和睦殷民的工作，公不要让我危困呀！我当不懈地学习政事，公要不停地示范，四方诸侯将会世代来到周国朝享了。”

4. 周公跪拜叩头说：“王命令我到洛邑来，继续保护您的先祖文王所受的殷民，宣扬您光明有功的父亲武王的伟大，我奉行命令。

“王来视察洛邑的时候，要使殷商贤良的臣民都醇厚守法，制定了治理四方的新法，作了周法的先导。我曾经说过：‘要是从这九州



(only) to attend reverently, early and late, to the sacrifices. ”

The king said, “Great, O duke, has been your merit in helping and guiding me;—let it ever continue so. ”

The king said, “O duke, let me, the little child, return to my sovereignty in Zhou, and I charge you, O duke, to remain behind (here). Order has been initiated throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, but the ceremonies to be honoured (by general observance) have not yet been settled, and I cannot look on your service as completed. Commence on a great scale what is to be done by your remaining here, setting an example to my officers and greatly preserving the people whom Wen and Wu? received; by your good government you will be a help to the whole kingdom. ”

The king said, “Remain, O duke. I will certainly go. Your services are devoutly acknowledged and reverently rejoiced in. Do not, O duke, occasion me this difficulty. I on my part will not be weary in seeking the tranquillity (of the people);—do not let the example which you have afforded me be intermitted. So shall the kingdom enjoy for generations (the benefit of your virtue). ”

The duke of Zhou did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, “You have charged me, O king, to come here. I undertake (the charge), and will protect the people whom your accomplished grandfather, and your glorious and meritorious father, king Wu, received by the decree (of Heaven). I will enlarge the reverence which I cherish for you. (But), my son, come (frequently), and inspect this settlement. Pay great honour to (old) statutes, and to the good and wise men of Yin. Good government (here) will make you (indeed) the new sovereign of the kingdom, and an example of (royal) respectfulness to all your succes-



【原文】

‘其自时中义，万邦咸休，惟王有成绩。予旦以多子越御事，笃前人成烈，答其师，作周孚先。’考朕昭子刑，乃单文祖德。

“俘来毖殷，乃命宁予以秬鬯二卣。曰：‘明禋，拜手稽首休享。’

“予不敢宿，则禋于文王、武王。‘惠笃叙，无有遘自疾，万年厌于乃德，殷乃引考。’

“‘王俘殷乃承叙万年，其永观朕子怀德。’”

5. 戊辰，王在新邑烝，祭岁，文王骍牛一，武王骍牛一。王命

【今译】

的中心进行治理，万国都会喜欢，王也会有功绩。我姬旦率领众位卿大夫和治事官员，经营先王的成业，集合众人，作修建洛邑的先导。’实现我告诉您的这一法则，就能发扬光大先祖文王的美德。

“您派遣使者来洛邑慰劳殷人，又送来两卣黍香酒问候我。

“使者传达王命说：‘明洁地举行祭祀，要跪拜叩头好好地祭献。’我不敢经一宿拖延，马上禋祀于文王武王。

“我祈祷说：‘愿我很顺遂，不要遇到罪疾，万年饱受您的德泽，殷的天下永成周的天下。’

“‘愿王使殷民能够顺从万年，将长久看到您的安民的德惠。’”

5. 戊辰这天，成王在洛邑举行冬祭，向先王报告岁事，用一头红色的牛祭文王，也用一头红色的牛祭武王。成王命令作册官名字叫



sors of Zhou. ”

(The duke) proceeded to say, “From this time, by the government administered in this central spot, all the states will be conducted to repose; and this will be the completion of your merit, O king. I, Tan, with the numerous officers and managers of affairs, will consolidate the achievements of our predecessors, in response to (the hopes of) the people. I will afford an example of sincerity to (future ministers of) Zhou, seeking to render complete the pattern intended for the enlightenment of you, my son, and thus to carry fully out the virtue of your accomplished grandfather. ”

(Afterwards, on the arrival of a message and gifts from the king, the duke said), “(The king) has sent messengers to admonish (the people of) Yin, and with a soothing charge to me, along with two flagons of the black-millet herb-flavoured spirits, saying, ‘Here is a pure sacrificial gift, which with my hands to my head and my head to the ground I offer for you to enjoy its excellence!’ I dare not keep this by me, but offer it in sacrifice to king Wen and king Wu. ” (In doing so, he prayed), “May he be obedient to, and observant of your course! Let him not bring on himself any evil or illness! Let him satisfy his descendants for myriads of years with your virtue! Let (the people of) Yin enjoy prolonged (prosperity)! ” (He also said to the messengers), “The king has sent you to Yin, and we have received his well-ordered charges, (sufficient to direct us) for myriads of years, but let (the people) ever (be able to) observe the virtue cherished by my son. ”

On the day Wu-chen, the king, being in the new city, performed the annual winter sacrifice, offering (moreover) one red bull to king Wen and another to king Wu. He then ordered a declara-

【原文】

作册逸祝册，惟告周公其后。王宾杀禋咸格，王入太室，裸。王命周公后，作册逸诰，在十有二月。惟周公诞保文武受命，惟七年。

【今译】

逸的宣读册文，报告文王、武王，周公将继续住在洛邑。助祭诸侯在杀牲祭祀先王的时候都来到了，成王进入清庙中央之室完成裸祭之礼。成王命令周公继续治理洛邑，作册官名字叫逸的将这件大事告喻天下，在十二月。周公留居洛邑担任文王、武王所受的大命，在成王七年。





tion to be prepared, which was done by Yi in the form of a prayer, and it simply announced the remaining behind of the duke of Zhou.

The king's guests, on the occasion of killing the victims and offering the sacrifice, were all present. The king entered the grand apartment, and poured out the libation. He gave a charge to the duke of Zhou to remain, and Yi, the preparer of the document, made the announcement;—in the twelfth month. (Thus) the duke of Zhou grandly sustained the decree which Wen and Wu had received through the space of seven years.



多 士

【原文】

1、惟三月，周公初于新邑洛，用告商王士。

王若曰：“尔殷遗多士！弗吊旻天，大降丧于殷。我有周佑命，将天明威，致王罚，敕殷命终于帝。肆尔多士！非我小国敢弋殷命。惟天不畀允罔固乱，弼我，我其敢求位？惟帝不畀，惟我下民秉为，惟天明畏。

“我闻曰：‘上帝引逸。’有夏不适逸，则惟帝降格，向于时夏。弗克庸帝，大淫佚有辞。惟时天罔念闻，厥惟废元命，降致罚；乃命

【今译】

1、周成王七年三月，周公初往新都洛邑，用成王的命令告诫殷商的旧臣。

王是这样说的：“你们这些殷商的旧臣们！纣王不敬重上天，他把灾祸大降给殷国。我们周国佑助天命，奉行上天的明威，执行王者的诛罚，宣告殷的国命被上天终绝了。现在，你们众位官员啊！不是我们小小的周国敢于取代殷命，是上天不把大命给予那信诬怙恶的人，而辅助我们，我们岂敢擅求王位呢？正因为上天不把大命给予怙恶不悛的人，我们下民的所作所为，应当敬畏天命。

“我听说：‘上帝不让人过度放纵。’夏桀不节制自己的享乐，上帝就降下教令，劝导夏桀。他不能听取上帝的教导，大肆享乐，并且怠慢。因此，上帝也不念不问，而考虑废止夏的大命，降下大罚；上

The Numerous Officers

In the third month, at the commencement (of the government) of the duke of Zhou in the new city of Luo, he announced (the royal will) to the officers of the Shang dynasty, saying: "The king speaks to this effect:—'Ye numerous officers who remain from the dynasty of Yin, great ruin came down on Yin from the cessation of forbearance in compassionate Heaven, and we, the lords of Zhou, received its favouring decree. We felt charged with its bright terrors, carried out the punishments which kings inflict, rightly disposed of the appointment of Yin, and finished (the work of) God. Now, ye numerous officers, it was not our small state that dared to aim at the appointment belonging to Yin. But Heaven was not with (Yin), for indeed it would not strengthen its misrule. It (therefore) helped us;—did we dare to seek the throne of ourselves? God was not for (Yin), as appeared from the mind and conduct of our inferior people, in which there is the brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven. '

"I have heard the saying, 'God leads men to tranquil security,' but the sovereign of Xia would not move to such security, whereupon God sent down corrections, indicating his mind to him. (Jie), however, would not be warned by God, but proceeded to greater dissoluteness and sloth and excuses for himself. Then Heaven no longer regarded nor heard him, but disallowed his great appointment, and inflicted extreme punishment. Then it charged





【原文】

尔先祖成汤革夏，俊民甸四方。

“自成汤至于帝乙，罔不明德恤祀。亦惟天丕建保乂有殷，殷王亦罔敢失帝，罔不配天其泽。在今后嗣王，诞罔显于天，矧曰其有听念于先王勤家？诞淫厥佚，罔顾于天显民祗，惟时上帝不保，降若兹大丧。

“惟天不畀不明厥德，凡四方小大邦丧，罔非有辞于罚。”

2. 王若曰：“尔殷多士，今惟我周王丕灵承帝事，有命曰：‘割殷，告敕于帝。’惟我事不贰适，惟尔王家我适。予其曰惟尔洪无度，我不尔动，自乃邑。予亦念天，即于殷大戾，肆不正。”

【今译】

帝于是命令你们的先祖成汤代替夏桀，命令杰出的人才治理四方。

“从成汤到帝乙，没有人不力行德政，慎行祭祀。也因为上天帮助成立了商的天下，商王也用贤人治理国家，殷的先王也没有人敢于违背天意，也没有人不配合上天的恩泽。后继的纣王，很不明白上天的意旨，何况又不能听从先王勤劳家国的训导，他大肆淫游佚乐，不顾天意和民困，因此，上帝不保佑了，降下这样的大丧乱。

“上帝不把大命给予不勉行德政的人，凡是四方小国大国的灭亡，无不是怠慢上帝而被惩罚。”

2. 王这样说：“你们殷国的众臣啊，现在只有我们周王善于奉行上帝的使命，上帝有命令说：‘夺取殷国，并报告上天。’我们讨伐殷商，不把别人作为敌人，只把你们的王家作为敌人。我怎么会料想到你们众官员太不守法，我并没有动你们，动乱是从你们的封邑开始



your founder, Tang the Successful, to set Xia aside, and by means of able men to rule the kingdom. From Tang the Successful down to emperor-Yi, every sovereign sought to make his virtue illustrious, and duly attended to the sacrifices. And thus it was that, while Heaven exerted a great establishing influence, preserving and regulating the House of Yin, its sovereigns on their part were humbly careful not to lose (the favour of) God, and strove to manifest a good-doing corresponding to that of Heaven. But in these times, their successor showed himself greatly ignorant of (the ways of) Heaven, and much less could it be expected of him that he would be regardful of the earnest labours of his fathers for the country. Greatly abandoned to dissolute idleness, he gave no thought to the bright principles of Heaven, and the awfulness of the people. On this account God no longer protected him, but sent down the great ruin which we have witnessed. Heaven was not with him, because he did not make his virtue illustrious. (Indeed), with regard to the overthrow of all states, great and small, throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, in every case reasons can be given for their punishment.

“The king speaks to this effect:—‘Ye numerous officers of Yin, the case now is this, that the kings of our Zhou, from their great goodness, were charged with the work of God. There was the charge to them, “Cut off Yin.” (They proceeded to perform it), and announced the execution of their service to God. In our affairs we have followed no double aims;—ye of the royal House (of Yin) must (now simply) follow us.’

“‘May I not say that you have been very lawless? I did not (want to) remove you. The thing came from your own city. When I



【原文】

王曰：“猷！告尔多士，予惟时其迁居西尔，非我一人奉德不康宁，时惟天命。无违，朕不敢有后，无我怨。”

“惟尔知，惟殷先人有册有典，殷革夏命。今尔又曰：‘夏迪简在王庭，有服在百僚。’予一人惟听用德；肆予敢求尔于天邑商，予惟率肆矜尔。非予罪，时惟天命。”

3. 王曰：“多士，昔朕来自奄，予大降尔四国民命。我乃明致天罚，移尔遐逝，比事臣我宗多逊。”

王曰：“告尔殷多士，今予惟不尔杀，予惟时命有申。今朕作大邑

【今译】

的。我也考虑到天意仅仅在于夺取殷国，于是在殷乱大定之后，便不治你们的罪了。”

王说：“啊！告诉你们众官员，我因此将把你们迁居西方，并不是我让你们不安宁，这是天命。不可违背天命，我不敢迟缓执行天命，你们不要怨恨我。”

“你们知道，殷人的祖先有书册有典籍，记载着殷国革了夏国的命。现在你们又说：‘当年夏的官员被选在殷的王庭，在百官之中都有职事。’我只接受、使用有德的人。现在我从大邑商招来你们，我是宽大你们和爱惜你们。这不是我的差错，这是天命。”

3. 王说：“殷的旧臣，从前我从奄地来，对你们管、蔡、商、奄四国臣民广泛地下达过命令。我然后执行上天的惩罚，把你们从远方迁徙到这里，好亲近我们的政教，就近服务和臣事我们周族。”

王说：“告诉你们殷商的众臣，现在我不杀害你们，我想重申这个



consider also how Heaven has drawn near to Yin with so great tribulations, it must be that there was (there) what was not right. '

"The king says, 'Ho! I declare to you, ye numerous officers, it is simply on account of these things that I have removed you and settled you here in the west;—it was not that I, the One man, considered it a part of my virtue to interfere with your tranquillity. The thing was from Heaven; do not offer resistance; I shall not presume to have any subsequent (charge concerning you); do not murmur against me. Ye know that your fathers of the Yin dynasty had their archives and statutes, (showing how) Yin superseded the appointment of Xia. Now, indeed, ye say further, "(The officers of) Xia were chosen and employed in the royal court (of Shang), and had their duties among the mass of its officers." (But) I, the One man, listen only to the virtuous, and employ them; and it was with this view that I ventured to seek you in your capital of Shang (once sanctioned by) Heaven, (and removed you here to Luo.) I thereby follow (the ancient example), and have pity on you. (Your present non-employment) is no fault of mine;—it is by the decree of Heaven. '

"The king says, 'Ye numerous officers, formerly, when I came from Yan, I greatly mitigated the penalty and spared the lives of the people of your four states. At the same time I made evident the punishment appointed by Heaven, and removed you to this distant abode, that you might be near the ministers who had served in our honoured (capital), and (learn) their much obedience. '

"The king says, 'I declare to you, ye numerous officers of Yin, now I have not put you to death, and therefore I reiterate the



【原文】

于兹洛，予惟四方罔攸宾，亦惟尔多士攸服奔走臣我多逊。

“尔乃尚有尔土，尔乃尚宁干止。尔克敬，天惟畀矜尔；尔不克敬，尔不啻不有尔土，予亦致天之罚于尔躬！”

“今尔惟时宅尔邑，继尔居；尔厥有干有年于兹洛。尔小子乃兴，从尔迁。”

王曰：“又曰时予，乃或言尔攸居。”

【今译】

命令。现在我在这洛地建成了一座大城市，我是由于四方诸侯没有地方朝贡，也是由于你们能就近恭顺服务臣属我们的缘故。

“你们还可以保有你们的土地，你们还会安宁下来。你们能够敬慎，上天将会对你们赐给怜爱；你们假如不能敬慎，你们不但不能保有你们的土地，我也将会把老天的惩罚加到你们身上。”

“现在你们应当好好地住在你们的城里，继续做你们的事业。你们在洛邑会有安乐会有丰年的。从你们迁来洛邑开始，你们的子孙也将兴旺发达。”

王说：“顺从我！顺从我！才能够谈到你们长久安居下来。”



declaration of my charge. I have now built this great city here in Luo, considering that there was no (central) place in which to receive my guests from the four quarters, and also that you, ye numerous officers, might here with zealous activity perform the part of ministers to us, with the entire obedience (ye would learn). Ye have still here, I may say, your grounds, and May still rest in your duties and dwellings. If you can reverently obey, Heaven will favour and compassionate you. If you do not reverently obey, you shall not only not have your lands, but I will also carry to the utmost Heaven's inflictions on. your persons. Now you may here dwell in your villages, and perpetuate your families; you may pursue your occupations and enjoy your years in this Luo; your children also will prosper; (all) from your being removed here. '

"The king says—; and again he says, 'Whatever I may now have spoken is on account of (my anxiety about) your residence here. ' "



无 逸

【原文】

1. 周公曰：“呜呼！君子所，其无逸。先知稼穡之艰难，乃逸，则知小人之依。相小人，厥父母勤劳稼穡，厥子乃不知稼穡之艰难，乃逸乃谚。既诞，否则侮厥父母曰：‘昔之人无闻知。’”

2. 周公曰：“呜呼！我闻曰：昔在殷王中宗，严恭寅畏，天命自度，治民祗惧，不敢荒宁。肆中宗之享国七十有五年。

“其在高宗，时旧劳于外，爰暨小人。作其即位，乃或亮阴，三年不言。其惟不言，言乃雍。不敢荒宁，嘉靖殷邦。至于小大，无时

【今译】

1. 周公说：“啊！君子在位，切不可安逸享乐。先了解耕种收获的艰难，然后再处在逸乐的境地，就会知道老百姓的痛苦。看那些老百姓，他们的父母勤劳地耕种收获，他们的儿子却不知道耕种收获的艰难，便安逸，便不恭。时间已经久了，于是就轻视侮慢他们的父母说：‘老人们没有知识。’”

2. 周公说：“啊！我听说：过去殷王中宗，庄正敬畏，以天命作为自己的准则，治理百姓，敬慎恐惧，不敢荒废、安逸。所以中宗在位七十五年。

“在高宗，这个人长期在民间劳动，惠爱老百姓。等到他即位，便又听信冢宰沉默不言，三年不轻易说话。因为他不轻易说话，有时说出来就能使人和悦。他不敢荒废、安逸，善于安定殷国。从老百姓



Against Luxurious Ease

The duke of Zhou said, "Oh! the superior man rests in this,—that he will indulge in no luxurious ease. He first understands how the painful toil of sowing and reaping conducts to ease, and thus he understands how the lower people depend on this toil (for their support). I have observed among the lower people, that where the parents have diligently laboured in sowing and reaping, their sons (often) do not understand this painful toil, but abandon themselves to ease, and to village slang, and become quite disorderly. Or where they do not do so, they (still) throw contempt on their parents, saying, 'Those old people have heard nothing and know nothing.' "

The duke of Zhou said, "Oh! I have heard that aforetime Zhong Zong, one of the kings of Yin, was grave, humble, reverential, and timorously cautious. He measured himself with reference to the decree of Heaven, and cherished a reverent apprehension in governing the people, not daring to indulge in useless ease. It was thus that he enjoyed the throne seventy and five years. If we come to the time of Gao Zong, he toiled at first away from the court, and was among the lower people. When he came to the throne, and occupied the mourning shed, it may be said that he did not speak for three years. (Afterwards) he was (still inclined) not to speak; but when he did speak, his words were full of harmonious (wisdom). He did not dare to indulge in useless ease, but admirably and tran-



【原文】

或怨。肆高宗之享国五十有九年。

“其在祖甲，不义惟王，旧为小人。作其即位，爰知小人之依，能保惠于庶民，不敢侮鰥寡。肆祖甲之享国三十有三年。

“自时厥后，立王生则逸，生则逸，不知稼穡之艰难，不闻小人之劳，惟耽乐之从。自时厥后，亦罔或克寿。或十年，或七八年，或五六年，或四三年。”

周公曰：“呜呼！厥亦惟我周太王、王季，克自抑畏。文王卑服，即康功田功。徽柔懿恭，怀保小民，惠鲜鰥寡。自朝至于日中昃，不遑暇食，用咸和万民。文王不敢盘于游田，以庶邦惟正之供。文王受命惟中身，厥享国五十年。”

【今译】

到群臣，没有怨恨他的。所以高宗在位五十九年。

“在祖甲，他本没有准备做王，长期在民间，做过很久的平民百姓。等到他即位后，就知道老百姓的痛苦，能够安定和爱护众民，对于鰥寡无依的人也不敢轻慢。所以祖甲在位三十三年。

“从这以后，在位的殷王生来就安闲逸乐，生来就安闲逸乐，不知耕种收获的艰难，不知老百姓的劳苦，只是追求过度的逸乐。从这以后，在位的殷王也没有能够长寿的。有的十年，有的七八年，有的五六年，有的三四年。”

周公说：“啊！只有我们周家的太王、王季能够谦让敬畏。文王安于卑下的工作，从事过开通道路、耕种田地的劳役。他和蔼、仁慈、善良、恭敬，使百姓和睦、安定，爱护亲善孤苦无依的人。从早晨到中午，到下午，他没有闲暇吃饭，要使万民生活和谐。文王不敢耽于嬉游、田猎，只忙于和许多属邦诸侯共理政事。文王中年受命为君，在位五十年。”



quilly presided over the regions of Yin, till throughout them all, small and great, there was not a single murmur. It was thus that he enjoyed the throne fifty and nine years. In the case of Zu-jia, he refused to be king unrighteously, and was at first one of the lower people. When he came to the throne, he knew on what they must depend (for their support), and was able to exercise a protecting kindness towards their masses, and did not dare to treat with contempt the wifeless men and widows. Thus it was that he enjoyed the throne thirty and three years. The kings that arose after these, from their birth enjoyed ease. Enjoying ease from their birth, they did not know the painful toil of sowing and reaping, and had not heard of the hard labours of the lower people. They sought for nothing but excessive pleasure; and so not one of them had long life. They (reigned) for ten years, for seven or eight, for five or six, or perhaps (only) for three or four. ”

The duke of Zhou said, “Oh! there likewise were king Tai and king Ji of our own Zhou, who were humble and reverentially cautious. King Wen dressed meanly, and gave himself to the work of tranquillization and to that of husbandry. Admirably mild and beautifully humble, he cherished and protected the inferior people, and showed a fostering kindness to the wifeless men and widows. From morning to mid-day, and from mid-day to sundown, he did not allow himself leisure to eat;—thus seeking to secure the happy harmony of the myriads of the people. King Wen did not dare to go to excess in his excursions or his hunting, and from the various states he would receive only the correct amount of contribution. The appointment (of Heaven) came to him in the middle of his life, and he enjoyed the throne for fifty years. ”



【原文】

3. 周公曰：“呜呼！继自今嗣王，则其无淫于观、于逸、于游、于田，以万民惟正之供。无皇曰：‘今日耽乐。’乃非民攸训，非天攸若，时人丕则有愆。无若殷王受之迷乱，酗于酒德哉！”

周公曰：“呜呼！我闻曰：‘古之人犹胥训告，胥保惠，胥教诲，民无或胥涛张为幻。’此厥不听，人乃训之，乃变乱先王之正刑，至于小大。民否则厥心违怨，否则厥口诅祝。”

周公曰：“呜呼！自殷王中宗及高宗及祖甲及我周文王，兹四人迪哲。厥或告之曰：‘小人怨汝詈汝。’则皇自敬德。厥愆，曰：‘朕之愆允若时。’不啻不敢含怒。此厥不听，人乃或涛张为幻，曰小人怨

【今译】

3. 周公说：“啊！从今以后的继位君王，不可沉迷在观赏、安逸、嬉游和田猎之中，不可只是使老百姓进献赋税供他享乐。不要自我宽解说：‘只是今天快乐快乐。’这样子，就不是老百姓所赞成的，也不是上天所喜爱的，这样的人就有罪过了。不要像商纣王那样迷乱，酗酒无德啊！”

周公说：“啊！我听说：‘古时的人还能互相劝导，互相爱护，互相教诲，所以老百姓没有互相欺骗、互相诈惑的。’不依照这样，官员就会率性而为，就会变动先王的正法，改变大大小小的法令。老百姓于是就内心怨恨，就口头诅咒了。”

周公说：“啊！从殷王中宗、到高宗、到祖甲、到我们的周文王，这四位君王领导得明智。有人告诉他们说：‘老百姓在怨恨你咒骂你。’他们就更加敬慎自己的行为；有人举出他们的过错，他们就说：‘我的过错确实像这样。’不但不敢怀怒。不依照这样，人们就会互相



The duke of Zhou said, "Oh! from this time forward, do you who have succeeded to the throne imitate Wen's avoiding of excess in his sight-seeing, his indulgence in ease, his excursions, his hunting; and from the myriads of the people receive only the correct amount of contribution. Do not allow yourself the leisure to say, 'To-day I will indulge in pleasure.' This would not be holding out a lesson to the people, nor the way to secure the favour of Heaven. Men will on the contrary be prompt to imitate you and practise evil. Become not like Shou the king of Yin, who went quite astray, and, became abandoned to drunkenness."

The duke of Zhou said, "Oh! I have heard it said that, in the case of the ancients, (their ministers) warned and admonished them, protected and loved them, taught and instructed them; and among the people there was hardly one who would impose on them by extravagant language or deceiving tricks. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), your ministers will imitate you, and so the correct laws of the former kings, both small and great, will be changed and disordered. The people, blaming you, will disobey and rebel in their hearts;—yea, they will curse you with their mouths."

The duke of Zhou said, "Oh! those kings of Yin,—Zhong Zong, Gao Zong, and Zu-jia, with king Wen of our Zhou,—these four men carried their knowledge into practice. If it was told them, 'The lower people murmur against you and revile you', then they paid great and reverent attention to their conduct; and with reference to the faults imputed to them they said, 'Our faults are really so', thus not simply shrinking from the cherishing of anger. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), when men with extravagant

【原文】

汝眚汝，则信之，则若时：不永念厥辟，不宽绰厥心，乱罚无罪，杀无辜。怨有同，是丛于厥身。”

周公曰：“呜呼！嗣王其监于兹！”

【今译】

欺骗、互相诈惑。有人说老百姓在怨恨你咒骂你，你就会相信，就会不考虑国家的法度，不放宽自己的心怀，就会乱罚没有罪过的人，乱杀没有罪过的人。老百姓的怨恨一旦汇合起来，就会集中到你的身上。”

周公说：“啊！继王要鉴戒这些啊！”



language and deceptive tricks say to you, 'The lower people are murmuring against you and reviling you', you will believe them. Doing this, you will not be always thinking of your princely duties, and will not cultivate a large and generous heart. You will confusedly punish the guiltless, and put the innocent to death. There will be a general murmuring, which will be concentrated upon your person. "

The duke of Zhou said, "Oh! let the king, who has succeeded to the throne, make a study of these things. "





君 奭

【原文】

1. 周公若曰：“君奭！弗吊天降丧于殷，殷既坠厥命，我有周既受。我不敢知曰：厥基永孚于休。若天棐忱，我亦不敢知曰：其终出于不祥。

“呜呼！君已曰：‘时我，我亦不敢宁于上帝命，弗永远念天威越我民；罔尤违，惟人。在我后嗣子孙，大弗克恭上下，遏佚前人光在家，不知天命不易，天难谌，乃其坠命，弗克经历。嗣前人，恭明德，在今。’

“予小子旦非克有正，迪惟前人光施于我冲子。又曰：‘天不可信。’我道惟宁王德延，天不庸释于文王受命。”

【今译】

1. 周公这样说：“君奭！商纣王不敬重上天，给殷国降下了大祸，殷国已经丧失了福命，我们周国已经接受了。我不敢认为王业开始的时候，会长期保持美好下去。顺从上天，任用诚信的人为辅佐，我也不敢认为王业的结局会出现不吉祥。

“啊！您曾经说过：‘依靠我们自己，我们不敢安然享受上帝赐给的福命，而不去永远顾念上天的威严和我们的人民；没有过错和违失，只在人。考察我们的后代子孙，如果不能够恭敬上天，顺从下民，不能继承前人的光辉，不知道天命难得，不懂得上帝难信，这就会失去天命，不能长久。继承前人，奉行明德，就在今天。’

“您的看法，我小子姬旦不能有什么改正，我想把前人的光辉传给我们的后代。您还说过：‘上天不可信赖。’我只想将文王的美德加



The Prince Shi

The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect:—"Prince Shi, Heaven, unpitying, sent down ruin on Yin. Yin has lost its appointment (to the throne), which our House of Zhou has received. I do not dare, however, to say, as if I knew it, 'The foundation will ever truly abide in prosperity. If Heaven aids sincerity,—^①' Nor do I dare to say, as if I knew it, 'The end will issue in our misfortunes.' Oh! you have said, 'O prince, "It depends on ourselves." ' I also do not dare to rest in the favour of God, not forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time, when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people;—(the issue) is with men. Should our present successor to his fathers prove greatly unable to reverence (Heaven) above and (the people) below, and so bring to an end the glory of his predecessors, could we in (the retirement of) our families be ignorant of it? The favour of Heaven is not easily preserved; Heaven is difficult to be depended on. Men lose its favouring appointment, because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers. Now I, Dan, the little child, am not able to make (the king) correct. I would simply conduct him to the glory of his fathers, and make him, who is my young charge, partaker of that."

He also said, "Heaven is not to be trusted. Our course is only

① The text is here defective; or perhaps the speaker purposely left his meaning only half expressed.



【原文】

2、公曰：“君奭！我闻在昔成汤既受命，时则有若伊尹，格于皇天。在太甲，时则有若保衡。在太戊，时则有若伊陟、臣扈，格于上帝；巫咸乂王家。在祖乙，时则有若巫贤。在武丁，时则有若甘盘。

“率惟兹有陈，保乂有殷，故殷礼陟配天，多历年所。天惟纯佑命，则商实百姓王人，罔不秉德明恤，小臣屏侯甸，矧咸奔走。惟兹惟德称，用乂厥辟，故一人有事于四方，若卜筮罔不是孚。”

公曰：“君奭！天寿平格，保乂有殷，有殷嗣，天灭威。今汝永

【今译】

以推广，上天将不会废弃文王所接受的福命。”

2、周公说：“君奭！我听说从前成汤既已接受天命，当时就有这个伊尹得到上天的嘉许。在太甲，当时就有这个保衡。在太戊，当时就有这个伊陟和臣扈，得到上天的嘉许，又有巫咸治理王国。在祖乙，当时就有这个巫贤。在武丁，当时就有这个甘盘。

“这些有道的人，安定治理殷国，所以殷人的制度，君王死后，他们的神灵都配天称帝，经历了许多年代。上天用贤良教导下民，于是，殷商异姓和同姓的官员们，确实没有人不保持美德，知道谨慎，君王的小臣和诸侯的官员，也都奔走效劳。这些官员是依据美德而被推举出来，辅助他们的君王，所以君王对四方施政，如同卜筮一样，没有人不相信。”

周公说：“君奭！上天赐给中正和平的官员，安治殷国，于是殷王世世继承着，上天也不降给惩罚。现在您深刻地考虑这些，就掌握了



to seek the prolongation of the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, that Heaven may not find occasion to remove its favouring decree which King Wen received. ”

The duke said, “Prince Shi, I have heard that aforetime, when Tang the successful had received the appointment (to the throne), he had with him Yi Yin, making (his virtue) like that of great Heaven; that Tai-jia had (the same Yi Yin), the Bao-heng; that Tai-wu had Yi Zhi and Chen Hu, through whom (his virtue) was made to affect God, and Wu Xian who regulated the royal House; that Zu-yi had Wu Xian’s son; and that Wu-ding had Gan Pan. (These ministers) carried out (their principles), and displayed (their merit), preserving and regulating the dynasty of Yin, so that, while its ceremonies lasted, (those sovereigns), when deceased, were assessors to Heaven, and its duration extended over many years. Heaven thus determinately maintained its favouring appointment, and Shang was replenished with men. The various heads of great surnames and members of the royal House, holding employments, all held fast their virtue, and showed an anxious solicitude (for the kingdom). The smaller ministers, and the guardian princes in the Hou and Dian domains, hurried about on their services. Thus did they all exert their virtue and aid their sovereign, so that whatever affairs he, the One man, had in hand, throughout the land, an entire faith was reposed in their justice as in the indications of the shell or the divining stalks. ”

The duke said, “Prince Shi, Heaven gives length of days to the just and the intelligent; (it was thus that those ministers) maintained and regulated the dynasty of Yin. He who came last to the throne granted by Heaven was extinguished by its terrors. Do



【原文】

念，则有固命，厥乱明我新造邦。”

3. 公曰：“君奭！在昔上帝割申劝宁王之德，其集大命于厥躬？惟文王尚克修和我有夏；亦惟有若虢叔，有若闳夭，有若散宜生，有若泰颠，有若南宫括。

“又曰：无能往来，兹迪彝教，文王蔑德降于国人。亦惟纯佑秉德，迪知天威，乃惟时昭文王迪见冒，闻于上帝，惟时受有殷命哉！

“武王惟兹四人尚迪有禄。后暨武王诞将天威，咸刘厥敌。惟兹四人昭武王惟冒，丕单称德。

“今在予小子旦，若游大川，予往暨汝奭其济。小子同未在位，

【今译】

天命，将治好我们这个新建立的国家。”

3. 周公说：“君奭！过去上帝为什么一再嘉勉文王的品德，降下大命在他身上呢？因为文王重视能够治理、和谐我们中国的人，也因为有这个虢叔，有这个闳夭，有这个散宜生，有这个泰颠，有这个南宫括。

“有人说：没有这些贤臣奔走效劳，努力施行常教，文王也就没有恩德降给国人了。也因为这些贤臣保持美德，了解上天的威严，因为这些人辅助文王特别努力，被上帝知道了，因此，文王才承受了殷国的大命啊。

“武王的时候，文王的贤臣只有四人还活着。后来，他们和武王奉行上天的惩罚，完全消灭了他们的敌人。也因为这四人辅助武王很努力，于是天下普遍赞美武王的恩德。

“现在我小子姬旦好像游于大河，我和你奭一起前往谋求渡过。我知识不广，却身居大位，你不督责、纠正我，就没有人勉力指出我



you think of the distant future, and we shall have the decree (in favour of Zhou) made sure, and its good government will be, brilliantly exhibited in our newly-founded state. ”

The duke said, “Prince Shi, aforetime when God was inflicting calamity (on Yin), he encouraged anew the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, till at last the great favouring decree was concentrated in his person. (But) that King Wen was able to conciliate and unite the portion of the great kingdom which we came to possess, was owing to his having (such ministers) as his brother of Kuo, Hong Yao, San Yi-sheng, Tai Dian, and Nan-gong Kuo. ”

He said further, “But for the ability of those men to go and come in his affairs, developing his constant lessons, there would have been no benefits descending from King Wen on the people. And it also was from the determinate favour of Heaven that there were these men of firm virtue, and acting according to their knowledge of the dread majesty of Heaven, to give themselves to enlighten King Wen, and lead him forward to his high distinction and universal rule, till his fame, reached the ears of God, and he received the appointment that had been Yin’s. There were still four of those men who led on King Wu to the possession of the revenues of the kingdom, and afterwards, along with him, in great reverence of the majesty of Heaven, slew all his enemies. These four men, moreover, made King Wu so illustrious that his glory overspread the kingdom, and (the people) universally and greatly proclaimed his virtue. Now with me Dan, the little child, it is as if I were floating on a great stream. With you, O Shi, let me from this time endeavour to cross it. Our young sovereign is (powerless), as if he had not yet ascended the throne. You must by no means lay



【原文】

诞无我责收，罔勖不及。耆造德不降我则，鸣鸟不闻，矧曰其有能格？”

公曰：“呜呼！君肆其监于兹！我受命无疆惟休，亦大惟艰。告君，乃猷裕我，不以后人迷。”

4. 公曰：“前人敷乃心，乃悉命汝，作汝民极。曰：‘汝明勖偶王，在亶乘兹大命，惟文王德丕承，无疆之恤！’”

公曰：“君！告汝，朕允保奭。其汝克敬以予监于殷丧大否，肆念我天威。予不允惟若兹诰，予惟曰：‘襄我二人，汝有合哉？’言曰：‘在时二人。’天休兹至，惟时二人弗戢。其汝克敬德，明我俊民，在让后人于丕时。”

【今译】

的不够了。您这年高有德的人不指示治国的法则，连凤凰的鸣声都会听不到，何况说将又能被上天嘉许呢？”

周公说：“啊！您现在应该看到这一点！我们接受的大命，有无限的喜庆，也有无穷的艰难。现在请求您教导我，不要使后人迷惑呀！”

4. 周公说：“武王表明他的心意，详尽地告诉了您，要做老百姓的表率。武王说：‘您要努力辅助成王，在于诚心承受这个大命，考虑继承文王的功德，继承祖宗为国事无穷的忧虑之心！’”

周公说：“君奭！请求您，我所深信的太保奭。希望您能警惕地和我一起看到殷国丧亡的大祸，长久使我们不忘上天的惩罚。我不但这样告诉你，我还想道：‘除了我们二人，您有志同道合的人吗？’您会说：‘我们这两个人就够了。’上天赐予的美事越来越多，仅仅是我们两人不能胜任了。希望您能够敬重贤德，提拔杰出的人才，终归帮助我们后人去承受它。”



the whole burden on me; and if you draw yourself up without an effort to supply my deficiencies, no good will flow to the people from our age and experience. We shall not hear the voices of the phoenixes, and how much less can it be thought that we shall be able to make (the king's virtue) equal (to Heaven) !”

The duke said, “Oh! consider well these things, O prince. We have received the appointment to which belongs an unlimited amount of blessing, but having great difficulties attached to it. What I announce to you are counsels of a generous largeness. I cannot allow the successor of our kings to go astray.”

The duke said, “The former king laid bare his heart, and gave full charge to you, constituting you one of the guides and patterns for the people, saying, ‘Do you with intelligence and energy second and help the king; do you with sincerity support and convey forward the great decree. Think of the virtue of King Wen, and enter greatly into his boundless anxieties.’”

The duke said, “What I tell you, O prince, are my sincere thoughts. O Shi, the Grand-Protector, if you can but reverently survey with me the decay and great disorders of Yin, and thence consider the dread majesty of Heaven (which warns) us! Am I not to be believed that I must reiterate my words? I simply say, ‘The establishment (of our dynasty) rests with us two.’ Do you agree with me? Then you (also) will say, ‘It rests with us two.’ And the favour of Heaven has come to us so largely: it should be ours to feel as if we could not sufficiently respond to it. If you can but reverently cultivate your virtue (now), and bring to light our men of eminent ability, then when you resign (your position) to some successor in a time of established security, (I will interpose no objec-



【原文】

“呜呼！笃棐时二人，我式克至于今日休？我威成文王功于！不怠丕冒，海隅出日，罔不率俾。”

公曰：“君！予不惠若兹多诰，予惟用闵于天越民。”

公曰：“呜呼！君！惟乃知民德亦罔不能厥初，惟其终。祇若兹，往敬用治！”

【今译】

“啊！如果没有我们，我们还能达到今天的美好境地吗？我们共同来成就文王的功业吧！不懈怠地加倍努力，要使那海边日出的地方，没有人不顺从我们。”

周公说：“君奭啊！我不这样多多劝告了，我们要忧虑天命和民心。”

周公说：“啊！君奭！您知道老百姓的行为，开始时没有不好好干的，要看他的末尾。我们要搞好这件大事业，要勤劳恭敬地去治理啊！”



tion.)

“Oh! it is by the earnest service of us two that we have come to the prosperity of the present day. We must both go on, abjuring all idleness, to complete the work of King Wen, till it has grandly overspread the kingdom, and from the corners of the sea, and the sunrising, there shall not be one who is disobedient to the rule (of Zhou). ”

The duke said, “O prince, have I not spoken in accordance with reason in these many declarations? I am only influenced by anxiety about (the appointment of) Heaven, and about the people. ”

The duke said, “Oh! you know, O prince, the ways of the people, how at the beginning they can be (all we could desire) ; but it is the end (that is to be thought of). Act in careful accordance with this fact. Go and reverently exercise the duties of your office. ”



蔡仲之命（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1、惟周公位冢宰，正百工，群叔流言。乃致辟管叔于商；囚蔡叔于郭邻，以车七乘；降霍叔于庶人，三年不齿。蔡仲克庸祗德，周公以为卿士。叔卒，乃命诸王邦之蔡。

2、王若曰：“小子胡！惟尔率德改行，克慎厥猷，肆予命尔侯于东土。往即乃封，敬哉！尔尚盖前人之愆，惟忠惟孝。尔乃迈迹自身，克勤无怠，以垂宪乃后。率乃祖文王之彝训，无若尔考之违王命！”

3、“皇天无亲，惟德是辅；民心无常，惟惠之怀。为善不同，同

【今译】

1、周公位居大宰、统帅百官的时候，几个弟弟对他散布流言。周公于是到达商地，依法处决了为首叛乱的管叔；把跟从作乱的蔡叔监禁在郭邻，只给了他七辆车的仆从；把霍叔降为庶人，三年不许录用。蔡叔的儿子蔡仲能够经常重视德行，周公任用他为卿士。蔡叔死后，周公便告诉成王封蔡仲于蔡国。

2、成王这样说：“年轻的姬胡！你遵循祖德改变你父亲的行为，能够谨守臣子之道，所以我任命你到东土去做诸侯。你前往你的封地，要敬慎呀！你当掩盖前人的罪过，思忠思孝。你要使自身迈步前进，能够勤劳不怠，留下模范的榜样给你的后代。你要遵循你祖父文王的常训，不要像你的父亲那样违背天命！”

3、“皇天无亲无疏，只辅助有德的人；民心没有常主，只是怀念仁爱之主。做善事虽然各不相同，都会达到安治；做恶事虽然各不相



The Charge to Zhong of Cai

When the duke of Zhou was in the place of prime minister and directed all the officers, the (king's) uncles spread abroad an (evil) report, in consequence of which (the duke) put to death the prince of Guan in Shang; confined the prince of Cai in Guo-lin, with an attendance of seven chariots; and reduced the prince of Huo to be a private man, causing his name to be erased from the registers for three years. The son of the prince of Cai having displayed a reverent virtue, the duke of Zhou made him a high minister, and when his father died, requested a decree from the king, investing him with the country of Cai.

The king speaks to this effect:—"My little child, Hu, you follow the virtue (of our ancestors), and have changed from the conduct (of your father); you are able to take heed to your ways;—I therefore appoint you to be a marquis in the east. Go to your fief, and be reverent!

"In order that you may cover the faults of your father, be loyal, be filial. Urge on your steps in your own way, diligent and never idle, and so shall you hand down an example to your descendants. Follow the constant lessons of your grandfather king Wen, and be not, like your father, disobedient to the royal orders.

"Great Heaven has no partial affections;—it helps only the virtuous. The people's hearts have no unchanging attachment;—they cherish only the kind. Acts of goodness are different, but they



【原文】

归于治；为恶不同，同归于乱。尔其戒哉！

“慎厥初，惟厥终，终以不困；不惟厥终，终以困穷。懋乃攸绩，睦乃四邻，以蕃王室，以和兄弟，康济小民。率自中，无作聪明乱旧章；详乃视听，罔以侧言改厥度。则予一人汝嘉。”

4. 王曰：“呜呼！小子胡。汝往哉！无荒弃朕命！”

【今译】

同，都会走向动乱。你要警戒呀！

“谨慎对待事物的开初，想到终局，这样就不会被动；不考虑它的终局，终将困穷。勉力做你所行的事，和睦你的四邻，以保卫周王室，以和谐兄弟之邦，而使百姓安居成业。要循用中道，不要自作聪明扰乱旧章。要审慎你的视听，不要因片面之言改变法度。这样，我就会赞美你。”

4. 成王说：“啊！年轻的姬胡。你去吧！不要废弃我的教导！”



contribute in common to good order. Acts of evil are different, but they contribute in common to disorder. Be cautious!

“In giving heed to the beginning think of the end;—the end will then be without distress. If you do not think of the end, it will be full of distress, even of the greatest.

“Exert yourself to achieve your proper merit. Seek to be in harmony with all your neighbours. Be a fence to the royal House. Live in amity with your brethren. Tranquillize and help the lower people.

“Follow the course of the Mean, and do not by aiming to be intelligent throw old statutes into confusion. Watch over what you see and hear, and do not for one-sided words deviate from the right rule. Then I, the One man, will praise you.

“The king says, ‘Oh! my little child, Hu, go, and do not idly throw away my charge.’”

多 方

【原文】

1. 惟五月丁亥，王来自奄，至于宗周。

周公曰：“王若曰：猷！告尔四国多方惟尔殷侯尹民。我惟大降尔命，尔罔不知。洪惟图天之命，弗永寅念于祀，惟帝降格于夏。有夏诞厥逸，不肯感言于民，乃大淫昏，不克终日劝于帝之迪，乃尔攸闻。厥图帝之命，不克开于民之丽，乃大降罚，崇乱有夏。因甲于内乱，不克灵承于旅。罔丕惟进之恭，洪舒于民。亦惟有夏之民叨愆日钦，剿割夏邑。天惟时求民主，乃大降显休命于成汤，刑殄有夏。

【今译】

1. 五月丁亥这天，成王从奄地回来，到了宗周。

周公说：“成王这样说：啊！告诉你们四国及东方各国诸侯，你们这些殷商的旧臣们，我给你们大下教令，你们不可不闻。夏桀夸大天命，不常重视祭祀，上帝就对夏国降下了大祸。夏桀大肆逸乐，不肯恤问人民，竟然大行淫乱，没有一天能接受上帝的教导，这些是你们所听说过的。夏桀夸大天命，不能明白老百姓归附的道理，就大肆杀戮，大乱夏国。夏桀因习于让妇人治理政事，不能很好地顺从民众，无时不贪取财物，深深地毒害了人民。也由于夏民贪婪、暴戾的风气一天天盛行，残害了夏国。上天于是寻求可以做人民君主的人，就降





The Numerous Regions

In the fifth month, on the day Ding-hai, the king arrived from Yan, and came to (Hao), the honoured (capital of) Zhou.

The duke of Zhou said, "The king speaks to the following effect: 'Ho! I make an announcement to you of the four states, and the numerous (other) regions. Ye who were the officers and people of the prince of Yin, I have dealt very leniently as regards your lives, as ye all know. You kept reckoning greatly on (some) decree of Heaven, and did not keep with perpetual awe before your thoughts (the preservation of) your sacrifices.

" ' God sent down correction on Xia, but the sovereign (only) increased his luxury and sloth, and would not speak kindly to the people. He showed himself dissolute and dark, and would not yield for a single day to the leadings of God:—this is what you have heard. He kept reckoning on the decree of God (in his favour), and did not cultivate the means for the people's support. By great inflictions of punishment also he increased the disorder of the states of Xia. The first cause (of his evil course) was the internal misrule, which made him unfit to deal well with the multitudes. Nor did he endeavour to find and employ men whom he could respect, and who might display a generous kindness to the people; but where any of the people of Xia were covetous and fierce, he daily honoured them, and they practised cruel tortures in the cities. Heaven on this sought a (true) lord for the people, and made



【原文】

“惟天不畀纯，乃惟以尔多方之义民不克永于多享；惟夏之恭多士大不克明保享于民，乃胥惟虐于民，至于百为，大不克开。乃惟成汤克以尔多方简，代夏作民主。

“慎厥丽，乃劝；厥民刑；用劝；以至于帝乙，罔不明德慎罚，亦克用劝；要囚殄戮多罪，亦克用劝；开释无辜，亦克用劝。

“今至于尔辟，弗克以尔多方享天之命，呜呼！”

2. 王若曰：“诰告尔多方，非天庸释有夏，非天庸释有殷。乃惟

【今译】

下光明美好的使命给成汤，命令成汤消灭夏国。

“上天不赐给众位诸侯，就是因为那时各国首长不能常常劝导人民，夏国的官员太不懂得保护和劝导人民，竟然都对人民施行暴虐，以至于各种工作都不能开展。就是因为成汤有各国邦君的选择，才代替夏桀作了君主。

“他慎施教令，是劝勉人；他惩罚罪人，也是劝勉人；从成汤到帝乙，没有人不宣明德教，慎施刑罚，也能够用来劝勉人；他们监禁、杀死重大罪犯，也能够用来劝勉人；他们释放无罪的人，也能够用来劝勉人。

“现在到了你们的君王纣，不能够和你们各国邦君享受上天的大命，实在可悲啊！”

2. 王这样说：“告诉你们各位邦君，并不是上天要舍弃夏国，也不是上天要舍弃殷国。是因为你们夏、殷的君王和你们各国诸侯大肆



its distinguished and favouring decree light on Tang the Successful, who punished and destroyed the sovereign of Xia. Heaven's refusal of its favour (to Xia) was decided. The righteous men of your numerous regions were not permitted to continue long in their posts of enjoyment, and the many officers whom Xia's (last sovereign) honoured were unable intelligently to maintain the people in the enjoyment (of their lives), but, on the contrary, aided one another in oppressing them, till of the hundred ways of securing (prosperity) they could not promote (one).

“ ‘ In the case indeed of Tang the Successful, it was because he was the choice of your numerous regions that he superseded Xia, and became the lord of the people. He paid careful attention to the essential virtue (of a sovereign), in order to stimulate the people, and they on their part imitated him and were stimulated. From him down to Emperor Yi, the sovereigns all made their virtue illustrious, and were cautious in the use of punishments;—thus also exercising a stimulating influence (over the people). When they, having examined the evidence in criminal cases, put to death those chargeable with many crimes, they exercised the same influence, and they did so also when they liberated those who were not purposely guilty. But when the throne came to your (last) sovereign, he could not with (the good will of) your numerous regions continue in the enjoyment of the favouring decree of Heaven. ’

“ Oh! The king speaks to the following effect:— ‘ I announce and declare to you of the numerous regions, that Heaven had no set purpose to do away with the sovereign of Xia or with the sovereign of Yin. But it was the case that your (last) ruler, being in possession of your numerous regions, abandoned himself to great ex-



【原文】

尔辟以尔多方大淫，图天之命屑有辞。乃惟有夏图厥政，不集于享，天降时丧，有邦间之。乃惟尔商后王逸厥逸，图厥政不蠲烝，天惟降时丧。

“惟圣罔念作狂，惟狂克念作圣。天惟五年须暇之子孙，诞作民主，罔可念听。天惟求尔多方，大动以威，开厥顾天。惟尔多方罔堪顾之。惟我周王灵承于旅，克堪用德，惟典神天。天惟式教我用休，简畀殷命，尹尔多方。

“今我曷敢多诰？我惟大降尔四国民命，尔曷不忧裕之于尔多方？尔曷不夹介乂我周王享天之命？今尔尚宅尔宅，畋尔田，尔曷不惠王

【今译】

淫佚，夸大天命，安逸而又懈怠；是因为夏桀谋划政事，不在于劝勉，于是上天降下了这亡国大祸，诸侯成汤代替了夏桀；是因为你们殷商的后王安于他们的逸乐生活，谋划政事不美好，于是上天降下这亡国大祸。

“圣人不思考就会变成狂人，狂人能够思考就能变成圣人。上帝用五年时间等待、宽宥商的子孙悔改，让他继续做万民之君主，但是，无法可以使他们思考和听从天意。上帝又寻求你们众诸侯国，代天大降灾异，启发你们众国顾念天意，你们众国也没有人能顾念它。只有我们周王善于顺从民众，能用明德，善待神、天。上帝就改用吉祥美好的迹象指示我们，选择我周王，授予伟大的使命，治理众国诸侯。

“现在我怎么敢重复地说这么多告诫的话？我只是有过发布给你们四国臣民的命令，你们为什么不劝导各国臣民？你们为什么不大大帮助我周王共享天命呢？现在你们还住在你们的住处，整治你们的田



cess, and reckoned on the favouring decree of Heaven, making trifling excuses for his conduct. And so in the case of the (last) sovereign of Xia; his plans of government were not of a tendency to secure his enjoyment (of the kingdom), and Heaven sent down ruin on him, and the chief of the territory (of Shang) put an end (to the line of Xia). In truth, the last sovereign of your Shang was luxurious to the extreme of luxury, while his plans of government showed neither purity nor progress, and thus Heaven sent down such ruin on him.

“ ‘ The wise, through not thinking, become foolish, and the foolish, by thinking, become wise. Heaven for five years waited kindly, and forbore with the descendant (of Tang), to see if he would indeed prove himself the ruler of the people; but there was nothing in him deserving to be regarded. Heaven then sought among your numerous regions, making a great impression by its terrors to stir up some one who would look (reverently) to it, but in all your regions there was not one deserving of its favouring regard. But there were the kings of our Zhou, who treated well the multitudes of the people, and were able to sustain the burden of virtuous (government). They could preside over (all services to) spirits and to Heaven. Heaven thereupon instructed us, and increased our excellence, made choice of us, and gave us the decree of Yin, to rule over your numerous regions. ’

“ ‘ Why do I now presume to make (these) many declarations? I have dealt very leniently as regards the lives of you, the people of these four states. Why do you not show a sincere and generous obedience in your numerous regions? Why do you not aid and co-operate with the kings of our Zhou, to secure the enjoyment



【原文】

熙天之命？

“尔乃迪屡不静，尔心未爱。尔乃不大宅天命，尔乃屑播天命，尔乃自不典，图忱于正。我惟时其教告之，我惟时其战要囚之，至于再，至于三。乃有不用我降尔命，我乃其大罚殛之！非我有周秉德不康宁，乃惟尔自速辜！”

3. 王曰：“呜呼！猷！告尔有方多士暨殷多士。今尔奔走臣我监五祀，越惟有胥伯小大多正，尔罔不克臬。

“自作不和，尔惟和哉！尔室不睦，尔惟和哉！尔邑克明，尔惟

【今译】

地，你们为什么不顺从周王宣扬上帝的大命呢？

“你们竟然屡次教导还不安分，你们内心不顺。你们竟然不度量天命，你们竟然完全抛弃天命，你们竟然自作不法，图谋攻击长官。我因此教导过你们，我因此讨伐你们，囚禁你们，至于再，至于三。假如还有人不服从我发布给你们的命令，那么我就要重重惩罚他们！这并不是我们周国秉性不安宁，只是你们自己招致了罪过！”

3. 王说：“啊！告诉你们各国官员和殷商的旧臣，到现在你们奔走效劳臣服我周国已经五年了，所有的徭役赋税和大大小小的政事，你们都能遵守法规。

“你们自己造成了不和睦，你们应该和睦起来！你们的家庭不和睦，你们也应该和睦起来！要使你们的城邑清明，你们应该能够勤于你们的职事。你们应当不被坏人教唆，也就可以好好地站在你们的位



of Heaven's favouring decree? You now still dwell in your dwellings, and cultivate your fields;—why do you not obey our kings, and consolidate the decree of Heaven? The paths which you tread are continually those of disquietude;—have you in your hearts no love for yourselves? do you refuse so greatly to acquiesce in the ordinance of Heaven? do you triflingly reject that decree? do you of yourselves pursue unlawful courses, scheming (by your alleged reasons) for the approval of upright men? I simply instructed you, and published my announcement 1; with trembling awe I secured and confined (the chief criminals):—I have done so twice and for three times. But if you do not, take advantage of the leniency with which I have spared your lives, I will proceed to severe punishments, and put you to death. It is not that we, the sovereigns of Zhou, hold it virtuous to make you untr tranquil, but it is you yourselves who accelerate your crimes (and sufferings). ’

“The king says, ‘Oh! ho! I tell you, ye many officers of the various regions, and you, ye many officers of Yin, now have ye been hurrying about, doing service to my overseers for five years. There are among you the inferior assistants, the chiefs, and the numerous directors, small and great;—see that ye all attain to the discharge of your duties. Want of harmony (in the life) rises from (the want of it in) one's (inner) self-strive to be harmonious. Want of concord in your families (arises from the want of it in your conduct);—strive to be harmonious. When intelligence rules in your cities, then will you be proved to be attentive to your duties. Do not be afraid, I pray you, of the evil ways, (of the people); and moreover, by occupying your offices with a reverent harmony, you will find it possible to select from your cities individuals on whose



【原文】

克勤乃事。尔尚不忌于凶德，亦则以穆穆在乃位，克阅于乃邑谋介。

“尔乃自时洛邑，尚永力畋尔田，天惟畀矜尔，我有周惟其大介赉尔。迪简在王庭，尚尔事，有服在大僚。”

王曰：“呜呼！多士，尔不克劝忱我命，尔亦则惟不克享，凡民惟曰不享。尔乃惟逸惟颇，大远王命，则惟尔多方探天之威，我则致天之罚，离逖尔土。”

王曰：“我不惟多诰，我惟祇告尔命。”

又曰：“时惟尔初，不克敬于和，则无我怨。”

【今译】

置上，就能够留在你们的城邑里谋求美好的生活了。

“你们如果在洛邑安定下来，长久尽力耕作你们的田地，上天会怜悯你们，我们周国会大大地赏赐你们。把你们选拔到朝廷来；努力做好你们的职事，又将让你们担任重要官职。”

王说：“啊！官员们，如果你们不能努力信从我的教命，你们也就不能享有禄位，老百姓也将认为你们不能享有禄位。你们如果放荡邪恶，大大地违抗王命，那就是你们各国妄图试探上天的惩罚，我就要施行上天的惩罚，使你们离开你们的故土。”

王说：“我不想重复地说了，我只是认真地把天命告诉你们。”

王又说：“好好地谋划你们的开始吧！若不能恭敬与和睦，那么你们就不要怨我了。”



assistance you can calculate. You may thus long continue in this city of Luo, cultivating your fields. Heaven will favour and compassionate you, and we, the sovereigns of Zhou, will greatly help you, and confer rewards, selecting you to stand in our royal court. Only be attentive to your duties, and you may rank among our great officers. ’

“The king says, ‘ Oh! ye numerous officers, if you cannot exhort one another to pay a sincere regard to my charges, it will further show that you are unable to honour your sovereign; and all the people will (also) say, ‘ We will not honour him. ’ Thus will ye be proved slothful and perverse, greatly disobedient to the royal charges. Throughout your, numerous regions you will bring on yourselves the terrors of Heaven, and I will then inflict on you its punishments, removing you far from your country. ’

“The king says, ‘ I do not (wish to) make these many declarations, but it is in a spirit of awe that I lay my commands before you. ’ He further says, ‘ You may now make a (new) beginning. If you cannot reverently realize the harmony (which I enjoin), do not (hereafter) murmur against me. ’ ”

立 政

【原文】

1. 周公若曰：“拜手稽首，告嗣天子王矣。”

用咸戒于王曰：“王左右常伯、常任、准人、缀衣、虎贲。”

周公曰：“呜呼！休兹知恤，鲜哉！古之人迪惟有夏，乃有室大竞，吁俊尊上帝迪，知忱恂于九德之行。乃敢告教厥后曰：‘拜手稽首后矣！’曰：‘宅乃事，宅乃牧，宅乃准，兹惟后矣。谋面，用丕训德，则乃宅人，兹乃三宅无义民。’

【今译】

1. 周公这样说：“跪拜叩头，报告继承天子的王。”周公因而劝诫成王说：“王要教导你左右的常伯、常任、准人、缀衣和虎贲。”

周公说：“啊！美好的时候就知道忧虑的人，很少啊！古代的人只有夏代的君王，他们的卿大夫很强，夏王还呼吁他们长久地尊重上帝的教导，使他们知道诚实地相信九德的准则。夏代君王经常教导他们的诸侯道：‘跪拜叩头了，诸侯们！’夏王说：‘考察你们执掌政事的常任、管理民事的常伯、执法的准人，这样，才称得上君主。以貌取人，不依循德行，假若这样考察人，你们的常任、常伯和准人就没有贤人了。’





The Establishment of Government

The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect:—"With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, we make our declarations to the Son of Heaven, the king who has inherited the throne." In such manner accordingly all (the other ministers) cautioned the king, saying, "In close attendance on Your Majesty there are the regular presidents, the regular ministers, and the officers of justice;—the keepers of the robes (also), and the guards." The duke of Zhou said, "Oh! admirable are these (officers). Few, however, know to be sufficiently anxious about them."

"Among the ancients who exemplified (this anxiety) there was the founder of the Xia Dynasty. When his House was in its greatest strength, he sought for able men who should honour God (in the discharge of their duties). (His advisers), when they knew of men thoroughly proved and trustworthy in the practice of the nine virtues, would then presume to inform and instruct their sovereign, saying, 'With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, O sovereign, we would say, Let (such an one) occupy one of your high offices; Let (such an one) be one of your pastors; Let (such an one) be one of your officers of justice. By such appointments you will fulfil your duty as sovereign. If you judge by the face only, and therefrom deem men well schooled in virtue, and appoint them, then those three positions will all be occupied by



【原文】

“桀德，惟乃弗作往任，是惟暴德。罔后。

“亦越成汤陟，丕釐上帝之耿命，乃用三有宅，克即宅，曰三有俊，克即俊。严惟丕式，克用三宅三俊，其在商邑，用协于厥邑，其在四方，用丕式见德。

“呜呼！其在受德，暨惟羞刑暴德之人，同于厥邦；乃惟庶习逸德之人，同于厥政。帝钦罚之，乃俘我有夏，式商受命，奄甸万姓。

2. “亦越文王、武王，克知三有宅心，灼见三有俊心，以敬事上帝，立民长伯。立政：任人、准夫、牧作三事；虎賁、缀衣、趣马、

【今译】

“夏桀即位后，他不用往日任用官员的法则，于是只用些暴虐的人，终于灭绝无后。

“到了成汤登上帝位，大受上帝的明命，他选用事、牧、准三宅的官，都能就三宅的职位，选用三宅的属官，也能就其属官之位。他敬念上帝选用官员的大法，能够很好地任用各级官员，他在商都用这些官员和协都城的臣民，他在天下四方，用这种大法显扬他的圣德。

“啊！商王纣登上帝位，强行把罪人和暴虐的人聚集在他的国家里；竟然用众多亲近和失德的人，共同治理他的政事。上帝于是重重地惩罚他，就使我们周王代替商纣王接受上天的大命，安抚治理天下的老百姓。

2. “到了文王、武王，他们能够知道禹、汤选拔三宅之人的用心，还能清楚地看到三宅部属的思想，用敬奉上帝的诚心，为老百姓建立官长。设立的官职是：任人、准夫、牧作为三事；有虎賁、缀



unrighteous individuals. ' The way of Jie, however, was act to observe this precedent. Those whom he employed were cruel men;— and he left no successor.

“After this there was Tang the Successful, who, rising to the throne, grandly administered the bright ordinances of God. He employed, to fill the three (high) positions, those who were equal to them; and those who were called possessors of the three kinds of ability would display that ability. He then studied them severely, and greatly imitated them, making the utmost of them in their three positions and with their three kinds of ability. The people in the cities of Shang were thereby all brought to harmony, and those in the four quarters of the kingdom were brought greatly under the influence of the virtue thus displayed. Oh! when the throne came to Shou, his character was all violence. He preferred men of severity, and who deemed cruelty a virtue, to share with him in the government of his states; and at the same time, the host of his associates, men who counted idleness a virtue, shared the offices of his court. God then sovereignly punished him, and caused us to possess the great land, enjoy the favouring decree which Shou had (afore) received, and govern all the people in their myriad realms.

“Then subsequently there were king Wen and king Wu, who knew well the minds of those whom they put in the three positions, and saw clearly the minds of those who had the three grades of ability. Thus they could employ them to serve God with reverence, and appointed them as presidents and chiefs of the people. In establishing their government, the three things which principally concerned them were to find the men for (high) offices, the officers of justice, and the pastors. (They had also) the guards; the keepers



【原文】

小尹、左右携仆、百司庶府；大都小伯、艺人、表臣百司；太史、尹伯，庶常吉士；司徒、司马、司空、亚旅；夷、微、卢烝、三亳阪尹。

“文王惟克厥宅心，乃克立兹常事司牧人，以克俊有德。文王罔攸兼于庶言；庶狱庶慎，惟有司之牧夫是训用违；庶狱庶慎，文王罔敢知于兹。亦越武王，率惟敕功，不敢替厥义德，率惟谋从容德，以并受此丕丕基。”

3. “呜呼！孺子王矣！继自今我其立政。立事、准人、牧夫，我

【今译】

衣、趣马、小尹、左右携仆以及百司庶府；有大小邦国的君主、艺人，外臣百官；有太史、尹伯；他们都是贤俊有德的人。诸侯国的官员有司徒、司马、司空、亚旅；夷、微、卢各国设有君主；还设立了商和夏的旧都管理官员。

“文王因能够度知三宅的思想，就能设立这些官职，而且能够是俊彦有德的。文王不兼管法令之官，刑狱之官、掌典法情讯等官的职权，全部由主管官员全权负责，文王只是严明观察这些官员能否贯彻命令而已。刑狱、典法情讯之事，文王根本不去了解、干预。到了武王，完成了文王的事业，不敢丢弃文王的善德，谋求顺从文王宽容的美德，因此，文王和武王共同接受了这伟大的王业。

3. “啊！您现在已是君王了。从今以后，我们要这样设立官员。设立事、准人、牧夫三种职务，我们要能明白了解他们的优点，才能



of the robes; their equerries; their heads of small departments; their personal attendants; their various overseers; and their treasurers. They had their governors of the larger and smaller cities assigned in the royal domain to the nobles; their men of arts; their overseers whose offices were beyond the court; their grand historiographers; and their heads of departments;—all good men of constant virtue.

“(In the external states) there were the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Works, with the many officers subordinate to them. Among the wild tribes, such as the Wei, the Lu, and the Zheng, in the three Bo, and at the dangerous passes, they had wardens.

“King Wen was able to make the minds of those in the (three high) positions his own, and so it was that he established those regular officers and superintending pastors, so that they were men of ability and virtue. He would not appear himself in the various notifications, in litigations, and in precautionary measures. There, were the officers and pastors (to attend to them), whom he (simply) taught to be obedient (to his wishes), and not to be disobedient. (Yea), as to litigations and precautionary measures, he (would seem as if he) did not presume to know about them. He was followed by king Wu, who carried out his work of settlement, and did not presume to supersede his righteous and virtuous men, but entered into his plans, and employed, as before, those men. Thus it was that they unitedly received this vast inheritance.

“Oh! young son, the king, from this time forth be it ours to establish the government, appointing the (high) officers, the officers of the laws, and the pastors; be it ours clearly to know what



【原文】

其克灼知厥若，丕乃俾乱。相我受民，和我庶狱庶慎，时则勿有间之。自一话一言，我则末惟成德之彦，以乂我受民。

“呜呼！予旦已受人之讟言咸告孺子王矣。继自今文子文孙，其勿误于庶狱庶慎，惟正是乂之。

“自古商人亦越我周文王立政，立事、牧夫、准人，则克宅之，克由绎之，兹乃俾乂，国则罔有。立政用俭人，不训于德，是罔显在厥世。继自今立政，其勿以俭人，其惟吉士，用勗相我国家。

“今文子文孙、孺子王矣！其勿误于庶狱，惟有司之牧夫。其克诘尔戎兵以陟禹之迹，方行天下，至于海表，罔有不服。以覲文王之

【今译】

让他们治理政事。管理我们所接受的人民，平治我们各种狱讼和各种禁戒的事务，这些事务不可代替。虽然一话一言，我们终要谋于贤德的人，来治理我们的老百姓。

“啊！我姬旦把前人的美言全都告诉君王了。从今以后，继承的贤子贤孙，千万不要在各种狱讼和各种禁戒上耽误时间，这些事只让主管官员去治理。

“从古时的商代先王到我们的周文王设立官员，设立事、牧夫、准人，就是能够考察他们，能够扶持他们，让他们治理，国事就没有失误。假如设立官员，任用贪利奸佞的人，不依循于德行，于是君王终世都会没有光彩。从今以后设立官员，千万不可任用贪利奸佞的小人，应当任用善良贤能的人，用来努力治理我们的国家。

“现在，先王贤明的子孙，您已做君王了！您不要在各种狱讼案件上耽误，只让主管官员和牧夫去治理。您要能够治理好军队，步着大禹的足迹，遍行天下，直至海外，没有人不服从。以此显扬文王圣



courses are natural to these men, and then fully to employ them in the government, that they may aid us in the management of the people whom we have received, and harmoniously conduct all litigations and precautionary measures. And let us never allow others to come between us and them. (Yea), in our every word and speech, let us be thinking of (these) officers of complete virtue, to regulate the people that we have received.

“Oh! I, Dan, have received these excellent words of others, and tell them all to you, young son, the king. From this time forth, O accomplished son (of Wu), accomplished grandson (of Wen), do not err in regard to the litigations and precautionary measures;—let the proper officers manage them. From of old to the founder of Shang, and downwards to king Wen of our Zhou, in establishing government, when they appointed (high) officers, pastors, and officers of the laws, they settled them in their positions, and allowed them to unfold their talents;—thus giving the regulation of affairs into their hands. In the kingdom, never has there been the establishment of government by the employment of artful-tongued men; (with such men), unlessoned in virtue, never can a government be distinguished in the world. From this time forth, in establishing government, make no use of artful-tongued men, but (seek for) good officers, and get them to use all their powers in aiding the government of our country. Now, O accomplished son (of Wu), accomplished grandson (of Wen), young son, the king, do not err in the matter of litigations;—there are the officers and pastors (to attend to them).

“Have well arranged (also) your military accoutrements and weapons, so that you may go forth beyond the steps of Yü, and

【原文】

耿光，以扬武王之大烈。呜呼！继自今后王立政，其惟克用常人。”

周公若曰：“太史！司寇苏公式敬尔由狱，以长我王国。兹式有慎，以列用中罚。”

【今译】

德的光辉，继续武王伟大的功业。啊！从今以后，继位君王设立官员，必须任用善良的人。”

周公这样说：“太史！司寇苏公规定要认真地处理狱讼案件，使我们的王国长治久安。现在规定慎之又慎，依据常例，使用中罚。”





traverse all under the sky, even to beyond the seas, everywhere meeting with submission:—so shall you display the bright glory of king Wen, and render more illustrious the great achievements of king Wu.

“Oh! from this time forth, may(our) future kings, in establishing the government, be able to employ men of constant virtue!”

The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect:—“O grand historiographer, the duke of Su, the Minister of Crime, dealt reverently with all the criminal matters that came before him, and thereby perpetuated the fortunes of our kingdom. Here was an example of anxious solicitude(for future ministers), whereby they may rank with him in the ordering of the appropriate punishments.”

周 官（伪古文尚书）

【原文】

1. 惟周王抚万邦，巡侯甸，四征弗庭，绥厥兆民。六服群辟罔不承德。归于宗周，董正治官。

2. 王曰：“若昔大猷，制治于未乱，保邦于未危。曰唐虞稽古，建官惟百。内有百揆四岳，外有州牧侯伯。庶政惟和，万国咸宁。夏商官倍，亦克用乂。明王立政，不惟其官，惟其人。今予小子祗勤于

【今译】

1. 周成王安抚万国，巡视侯服、甸服等诸侯属地，四方征讨不来朝见的诸侯，以安定天下的老百姓。六服的诸侯，无不奉承他的德教。成王回到王都丰邑，又督导整顿治事的官员。

2. 成王说：“顺从往日的大法，要在未出现动乱的时候制定治理的办法，在未出现危机的时候安定国家。尧舜稽考古代制度，建立官职一百。内有百揆和四岳，外有州牧和侯伯。各种政策适合，天下万国都安宁。夏代和商代，官数增加一倍，也能用来治理。明王设立官员，不在他的官员之多，而考虑要得到贤人。现在我小子恭敬勤奋施





The Officers of Zhou^①

The king of Zhou brought the myriad regions (of the kingdom) to tranquillity; he made a tour of inspection through the Hou and Dian tenures; he punished on all sides the chiefs who had refused to appear at court; thus securing the repose of the millions of the people, and all the (princes in the) six tenures acknowledging his virtue. He then returned to the honoured capital of Zhou, and strictly regulated the officers of Zhou^①.

The king said, "It was the grand method of former times to regulate the government while there was no confusion, and to secure the country while there was no danger." He said, "Yao and Shun, having studied antiquity, established a hundred officers. At court, there were the General Regulator and (the President of) the Four Mountains; abroad, there were the pastors of the provinces and the princes of states. Thus the various departments of government went on harmoniously, and the myriad states all enjoyed repose. Under the dynasties of Xia and Shang, the number of officers was doubled, and they were able still to secure good government. (Those early) intelligent kings, in establishing their government, cared not so much about the number of the offices as about the

① "The officers of Zhou" contains a general outline of the official system of the Zhou Dynasty, detailing the names and functions of the principal ministers about the court and others, to whom, moreover, various counsels are addressed by the king who speaks in it,—no doubt, King Kang. Chinese critics class it with the "Instructions" of the Shu Jing, but it belongs rather to the "Announcements".



【原文】

德，夙夜不逮。仰惟前代时若，训迪厥官。

“立太师、太傅、太保，兹惟三公。论道经邦，燮理阴阳。官不必备，惟其人。

“少师、少傅、少保，曰三孤。贰公弘化，寅亮天地，弼予一人。

“冢宰掌邦治，统百官，均四海。司徒掌邦教，敷五典，扰万民。宗伯掌邦礼，治神人，和上下。司马掌邦政，统六师，平邦国。司寇

【今译】

行德政，起早睡晚都像有所不及。唯有时时学习前代，训导建立我们的官制。

“设立太师、太傅、太保，这是三公。他们讲明治道，治理国家，调和阴阳。三公的官不必齐备，要考虑适当的人。

“设立少师、少傅、少保，叫做三孤。他们协助三公弘扬教化，敬明天地的事，辅助我一人。

“冢宰主管国家的治理，统帅百官，调剂四海。司徒主管国家的教育，传布五常的教训，使万民和顺。宗伯主管国家的典礼，办理祭祀天地神祇的事，调和上下尊卑的关系。司马主管国家的军政，统率



men (to occupy them). Now I, the little child, cultivate with reverence my virtue, concerned day and night about my deficiencies; I look up to (those) former dynasties, and seek to conform to them, while I instruct and direct you, my officers. ”

“I appoint the Grand-Master, the Grand-Assistant, and the Grand-Guardian. These are the three Gong^①. They discourse about the principles of reason and adjust the states, harmonizing (also) and regulating the operations (in nature) of heaven and earth. These offices need not (always) be filled; there must (first) be the men for them.

“(I appoint) the junior Master, the junior Assistant, and the junior Guardian. These are called the three Gu. They assist the Gong to diffuse widely the transforming influences, and display brightly with reverence (the powers of) heaven and earth,—assisting me, the One man.

“(I appoint) the Prime Minister, who presides over the ruling of the (various) regions, has the general management of all the other officers, and secures uniformity within the four seas; the Minister of Instruction, who presides over the education in the states, diffuses a knowledge of the duties belonging to the five relations of society, and trains the millions of the people to obedience; the Minister of Religion, who presides over the (sacred) ceremonies of the country, regulates the services rendered to the spirits and ma-

① That is, “the three dukes”, but the term is here a name of office, more than of nobility, as is evident from the name of the three Gu, who were next to them. Gu was not used as a term expressing any order of nobility. It would seem to indicate that, while the men holding the office were assistant to the Gong, they yet had a distinct standing of their own. The offices of Grand-Master, Grand-Assistant, Grand-Guardian, etc. had existed under the Shang Dynasty.



【原文】

掌邦禁，诘奸慝，刑暴乱。司空掌邦土，居四民，时地利。六卿分职，各率其属，以倡九牧，阜成兆民。

“六年，五服一朝。又六年，王乃时巡，考制度于四岳。诸侯各朝于方岳，大明黜陟。”

3. 王曰：“呜呼！凡我有官君子，钦乃攸司。慎乃出令，令出惟行，弗惟反。以公灭私，民其允怀。学古入官，议事以制，政乃不迷。其尔典常作之师，无以利口乱厥官。蓄疑败谋，怠忽荒政。不学

【今译】

六师，平服邦国。司寇主管国家的法禁，治理奸恶的人，镇压暴乱之徒。司空主管国家的土地，安置士农工商，依时发展地利。六卿分管职事，各自统率他的属官，以倡导九州之牧，大力安定兆民。

“六年，五服诸侯来朝见一次。又隔六年，王便依时巡视，到四岳校正制度。诸侯各在所属的方岳来朝见，王对诸侯普遍按政绩升降赏罚。”

3. 成王说：“啊！凡我的各级官长，要认真对待你们所管理的工作。慎重对待你们发布的命令，命令发出了就要进行，不要违抗。用公正消除私情，人民将会信任归服。先学古代治法再入仕途，议论政事依据法制，政事就不会错误。你们要用周家常法作为法则，不要以巧言干扰你的官员。犹疑不决，必定败坏计谋，怠惰忽略，必定废弃



nes, and makes a harmony between high and low; the Minister of War, who presides over the (military) administration of the country, commands the six hosts, and secures the tranquillity of all the regions; the Minister of Crime, who presides over the prohibitions of the country, searches out the villainous and secretly wicked, and punishes oppressors and disturbers of the peace; and the Minister of Works, who presides over the land of the country, settles the four classes of the people, and secures at the proper seasons the produce of the ground.

“These six ministers with their different duties lead on their several subordinates, and set an example to the nine pastors of the provinces, enriching and perfecting the condition of the millions of the people. In six years (the lords of) the five tenures appear once at the royal court; and after a second six years, the king makes a tour of inspection in the four seasons, and examines the (various) regulations and measures at the four mountains. The princes appear before him each at the mountain of his quarter; and promotions and degradations are awarded with great intelligence. ”

The king said, “Oh! all ye men of virtue, my occupiers of office, pay reverent attention to your charges. Be careful in the commands you issue; for, once issued, they must be carried into effect, and cannot be retracted. Extinguish all selfish aims by your public feeling, and the people will have confidence in you, and be gladly obedient. Study antiquity as a preparation for entering on your offices. In deliberating on affairs, form your determinations by help (of such study), and your measures will be free from error. Make the regular statutes of (our own) dynasty your rule, and do not with artful speeches introduce disorder into your offices. To accumulate



【原文】

墙面，莅事惟烦。

“戒尔卿士：功崇惟志，业广惟勤。惟克果断，乃罔后艰。位不期骄，禄不期侈，恭俭惟德！无载尔伪，作德心逸日休，作伪心劳日拙。居宠思危，罔不惟畏，弗畏入畏。推贤让能，庶官乃和，不和政厖。举能其官，惟尔之能；称匪其人，惟尔不任。”

4、王曰：“呜呼！三事暨大夫：敬尔有官，乱尔有政，以佑乃辟，永康兆民；万邦惟无敎。”

【今译】

政事。不学习好像面墙而立，什么都不知道，临事就会碰钉子。

“告诉你们各位卿士：功高由于有志，业大由于勤劳。能够果敢决断，就没有后来的艰难。居官位的人虽然不想骄傲，骄傲往往自然产生；享禄位的人虽然不想奢侈，奢侈也往往不可避免。恭和俭是美德啊！不要行使诈伪，行德就心逸而日美，作伪就心劳而日拙。处于尊宠要想到危辱，无事不知敬畏，不知敬畏，就会进入可畏的境地。推举贤明而让能者，众官就会和谐；众官不和，政事就复杂了。推举能者在其官位，是你们的贤能；所举不是那种人，是你们不能胜任。”

4、成王说：“啊！任人、准夫、牧三位首长和大夫们，认真对待你们的官职，治理你们的政事，来辅助你们的君主，使广大百姓长远安宁；天下万国就不会厌弃我们了。”



doubts is the way to ruin your plans; to be idle and indifferent is the way to ruin your government. Without study, you stand facing a wall, and your management of affairs will be full of trouble.

"I warn you, my high ministers and officers, that exalted merit depends on the high aim, and a patrimony is enlarged only by diligence; it is by means of bold decision that future difficulties are avoided. Pride comes, along with rank, unperceived, and extravagance in the same way with emolument. Let reverence and economy be (real) virtues with you, unaccompanied with hypocritical display. Practise them as virtues, and your minds will be at ease, and you will daily become more admirable. Practise them in hypocrisy, and your minds will be toiled, and you will daily become more stupid. In the enjoyment of favour think of peril, and never be without a cautious apprehension;—he who is without such apprehension finds himself amidst what is really to be feared. Push forward the worthy, and show deference to the able; and harmony will prevail among all your officers. When they are not harmonious, the government becomes a mass of confusion. If those whom you advance be able for their offices, the ability is yours; if you advance improper men, you are not equal to your position."

The king said, "Oh! ye (charged) with the threefold business (of government) and ye great officers, I reverently attend to your departments, and conduct well the affairs under your government, so as to assist your sovereign, and secure the lasting happiness of the millions of the people;—so shall there be no dissatisfaction throughout the myriad states."

君 陈 (伪古文尚书)

【原文】

1. 王若曰：“君陈！惟尔令德孝恭。惟孝友于兄弟，克施有政。命汝尹兹东郊，敬哉！昔周公师保万民，民怀其德，往慎乃司兹！率厥常，懋昭周公之训，惟民其乂。

2. “我闻曰：至治馨香，感于神明；黍稷非馨，明德惟馨。尔尚式时周公之猷训，惟日孜孜，无敢逸豫！凡人未见圣，若不克见；既见圣，亦不克由圣。尔其戒哉！尔惟风，下民惟草。图厥政，莫或不艰；有废有兴，出入自尔师虞，庶言同则绎。尔有嘉谋嘉猷，则入告

【今译】

1. 成王这样说：“君陈！你有孝顺恭敬的美德。因为你孝顺父母，又友爱兄弟，就能够把孝道用来从政了。我命令你治理东郊成周，你要敬慎呀！从前周公做万民的师保，人民怀念他的美德。你前往，要慎重对待你的职务呀！遵循周公的常道，勉力宣扬周公的教导，人民就会安定。

2. “我听说：至治之世的馨香，感动神明；黍稷的香气，不是远闻的香气，明德才是远闻的香气。你要履行这一周公的教训，日日孜孜不倦，不要安逸享乐！凡人未见到圣道，迫切要求，唯恐不能见到；已经见到圣道，又不能遵行圣人的教导。你要戒惧呀！你是风，百姓是草，草随风而动啊！谋划殷民的政事，不要认为不难；有废除，有兴办，要反复同众人商讨，大家议论取得一致，才能施行。你



The Jun-chen

The king spoke to the following effect:—"Jun-chen, it is you who are possessed of excellent virtue, filial and respectful. Being filial and friendly with your brethren, you can display these qualities in the exercise of government. I appoint you to rule this eastern border. Be reverent."

"Formerly, the duke of Zhou acted as teacher and guardian of the myriads of the people, who cherish (the remembrance of) his virtue. Go and with sedulous care enter upon his charge; act in accordance with his regular ways, and exert yourself to illustrate his lessons; so shall the people be regulated. I have heard that he said, 'Perfect government has a piercing fragrance, and influences the spiritual intelligences. It is not the millet which has the piercing fragrance; it is bright virtue.' Do you make this lesson of the duke of Zhou your rule, being diligent from day to day, and not presuming to indulge in luxurious ease. Ordinary men, while they have not yet seen a sage, (are full of desire) as if they should never get a sight of him; and after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him. Be cautioned by this! You are the wind; the inferior people are the grass. In revolving the plans of your government, never hesitate to acknowledge the difficulty of the subject. Some things have to be abolished, and some new things to be enacted;—going out and coming in, seek the judgment of your people about them, and, when there is a general agreement, exert your



【原文】

尔后于内，尔乃顺之于外，曰：‘斯谋斯猷，惟我后之德。’呜呼！巨人咸若时，惟良显哉！”

3. 王曰：“君陈！尔惟弘周公丕训！无依势作威，无倚法以削。宽而有制，从容以和。殷民在辟，予曰辟，尔惟勿辟；予曰宥，尔惟勿宥；惟厥中。有弗若于汝政，弗化于汝训，辟以止辟，乃辟。狃于奸宄，败常乱俗，三细不宥。尔无忿疾于顽，无求备于一夫。必有忍，其乃有济；有容，德乃大。简厥修，亦简其或不修；进厥良，以率其或不良。

【今译】

有好谋好言，就要进入宫内告诉你的君主，你并且在外面说：‘这样的好谋，这样的好言，是我们君主的美德。’啊！臣下都像这样，就是好臣子啊！”

3. 成王说：“君陈！你当弘扬周公的大训！不要倚势造作威恶，不要倚法侵害人民。要宽大而有法制，从容而又和谐。殷民有陷入刑法的，我说处罚，你不要处罚；我说赦免，你也不要赦免；要考虑刑法的适中。有人不顺从你的政事，不接受你的教训，处罚他如果可以制止别人犯法，才处罚。惯于做奸宄犯法的事，破坏常法，败坏风俗，这三项中的小罪，也不宽宥。你不要怨恨愚钝无知的人，不要向一人求全责备。人君一定要有所忍耐，事才能有成；有所宽容，德才算是大。鉴别善良的，也鉴别有不善良的；进用那些贤良的人，来勉励那些有所不良的人。



own powers of reflection. When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your sovereign in the palace. Thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, 'This plan or this view is all due to our sovereign.' Oh! if all ministers were to act thus, how excellent would they be, and how distinguished!"

The king said, "Jun-chen, do you give their full development to the great lessons of the duke of Zhou. Do not make use of your power to exercise oppression; do not make use of the laws to practise extortion. Be gentle, but with strictness of rule. Promote harmony by the display of an easy forbearance.

"When any of the people of Yin are amenable to punishment, if I say 'Punish,' do not you therefore punish; and if I say 'Spare,' do not you therefore spare. Seek the due middle course. Those who are disobedient to your government, and uninfluenced by your instructions, you will punish, remembering that the end of punishment is to make an end of punishing. Those who are inured to villainy and treachery, those who violate the regular duties of society, and those who introduce disorder into the public manners:—those three classes you will not spare, though their particular offences be but small.

"Do not cherish anger against the obstinate, and dislike them. Seek not every quality in one individual. You must have patience, and you will be successful; have forbearance, and your virtue will be great. Mark those who discharge their duties well, and also mark those who do not do so, (and distinguish them from one another.) Advance the good, to induce those who may not be so to follow (their example).

【原文】

“惟民生厚，因物有迁；违上所命，从厥攸好。尔克敬典在德，时乃罔不变。允升于大猷，惟予一人膺受多福，其尔之休，终有辞于永世。”

【今译】

“民性本来敦厚，又因外界的影响而有改变；他们往往违背上级的教命，却有时又顺从上级的喜好。你能够敬重常法和省察自己的德行，人民没有不受你的影响而变好的。要是你的政事确实能进于大道，我将享受大福，你的美名，终将有人永远赞扬。”



“The people are born good, and are changed by (external) things ,so that they resist what their superiors command, and follow what they (themselves) love. Do you but reverently observe the statutes, and they will be found in (the way of) virtue; they will thus all be changed, and truly advance to a great degree of excellence. Then shall I, the One man, receive much happiness, and your excellent services will be famous through long ages!”





顾 命

【原文】

1. 惟四月，哉生魄，王不恡。甲子，王乃洮颙水。相被冕服，凭玉几。乃同，召太保奭、芮伯、彤伯、毕公、卫侯、毛公、师氏、虎臣、百尹、御事。

王曰：“呜呼！疾大渐，惟几，病日臻。既弥留，恐不获誓言嗣，兹予审训命汝。昔君文王、武王宣重光，奠丽陈教，则肄肄不违，用克达殷集大命。

“在后之侗，敬迓天威，嗣守文、武大训，无敢昏逾。今天降疾，

【今译】

1. 四月，月亮新现光明，成王生了病。甲子这天，成王洗了头发洗了脸，太仆给王戴上王冠，披上朝服，王靠着玉几。于是会见朝臣。成王召见太保奭、芮伯、彤伯、毕公、卫侯、毛公、师氏、虎臣、百官的首长以及办事官员。

王说：“啊！我的病很厉害，有危险，痛苦的日子到了。已经是临终时刻，恐怕不能郑重地讲后嗣的事了，现在，我详细地训告你们。过去，我们的先君文王、武王，放出日月般的光辉，制定法律，发布教令，臣民都努力奉行，不敢违背，因而能够讨伐殷商，成就我周国的大命。

“后来，幼稚的我，认真奉行天威，继续遵守文王、武王的伟大教导，不敢昏乱越轨。如今上天降下重病，几乎不能起床不能说话



The Testamentary Charge

In the fourth month, when the moon began to wane, the king was indisposed. On the day Jia-zi, he washed his hands and face; his attendants put on him his cap and robes; (and he sat up), leaning on a gem-adorned bench. He then called together the Grand-Guardian Shi, the earls of Rui and Tong, the duke of Bi, the marquis of Wei, the duke of Mao, the master of the warders, the master of the guards, the heads of the various departments, and the superintendents of affairs.

The king said, "Oh! my illness has greatly increased, and it will soon be over with me. The malady comes on daily with more violence, and maintains its hold. I am afraid I may not find (another opportunity) to declare my wishes about my successor, and therefore I (now) lay my charge upon you with special instructions. The former rulers, our kings Wen and Wu, displayed in succession their equal glory, making sure provision for the support of the people, and setting forth their instructions. (The people) accorded a practical submission, without any opposition, and the influence (of their example and instructions) extended to Yin, and the great appointment (of Heaven) was secured. After them, I, the stupid one, received with reverence the dread (decree) of Heaven, and continued to keep the great instructions of Wen and Wu, not daring blindly to transgress them.

"Now Heaven has laid affliction on me, and it seems as if I



【原文】

殆弗兴弗悟。尔尚明时朕言，用敬保元子钊弘济于艰难，柔远能迩，安劝大小庶邦。思夫人自乱于威仪，尔无以钊冒贡于非几兹！”

既受命，还，出缀衣于庭。越翼日乙丑，王崩。

2.1 太保命仲桓、南宫毛俾爰齐侯吕伋，以二干戈、虎贲百人逆子钊于南门之外。延入翼室，恤宅宗。丁卯，命作册度。越七日癸酉，伯相命士须材。

狄设黼宸、缀衣。牖间南向，敷重篋席，黼纯，华玉，仍几。西序东向，敷重底席，缀纯，文贝，仍几。东序西向，敷重丰席，画

【今译】

了。你们要勉力接受我的话，认真保护我的大儿子姬钊大渡艰难，要柔服远方，亲善近邻，安定、教导大小各国。我想众人要用礼法自治，你们不可使姬钊冒犯以至陷于非法啊！”

群臣已经接受教命，就退回来，拿出成王的朝服放在王庭。到了明天乙丑日，成王逝世了。

2.1 太保命令仲桓和南宫毛跟从齐侯吕伋，二人分别拿着干戈，率领一百名勇士，在南门外迎接太子钊。请太子钊进入侧室，作忧居为天下丧主。丁卯这天，命令作册制定丧礼。到了第七天癸酉，召公命令官员布置各种器物。

狄人陈设斧纹屏风和先王的礼服。门窗间朝南的位置，铺设着双层竹席，饰着黑白相间的丝织花边，陈设彩玉，用无饰的几案。在西墙朝东的位置，铺设双层细竹篋席，饰着彩色的花边，陈设花贝壳，



should not again rise or be myself. Do you take clear note of these my words, and in accordance with them watch reverently over my eldest son Zhao, and greatly assist him in the difficulties of his position. Be kind to those who are far off, and help those who are near. Promote the tranquillity of the states, small and great, and encourage them (to well-doing). I think how a man has to govern himself in dignity and with decorum;—do not you allow Zhao to proceed heedlessly on the impulse of improper motives. ”Immediately on receiving this charge, (the ministers and others) withdrew. The tent was then carried out into the court; and on the next day, (being) Yi-chou, the king died.

The Grand-Guardian then ordered Zhong Huan and Nan-Gong Mao to instruct Lu Ji, the marquis of Qi, with two shield—and—spearmen, and a hundred guards, to meet the prince Zhao outside the south gate, and conduct him to (one of) the side—apartments (near to that where the king lay), there to be as chief mourner.

On the day Ding-Mao, (two days after the king's death), he ordered (the charge) to be recorded on tablets, and the forms (to be observed in publishing it). Seven days after, on Gui-you, as chief (of the west) and premier, he ordered the (proper) officers to prepare the wood (for all the requirements of the funeral).

The salvage men set out the screens, ornamented with figures of axes, and the tents. Between the window (and the door), facing the south, they placed the (three) fold mat of fine bamboo splints, with its striped border of white and black silk, and the usual bench adorned with different-coloured gems. In the side-space on the west, which faced the east, they placed the threefold rush mat, with



【原文】

纯，雕玉，仍几。西夹南向，敷重筭席，玄纷纯，漆，仍几。

越玉五重，陈宝，赤刀，大训，弘璧，琬琰，在西序。大玉、夷玉、天球、河图，在东序。胤之舞衣、大贝、鼗鼓，在西房；兑之戈、和之弓、垂之竹矢，在东房。

大辂在宾阶面，缀辂在阼阶面，先辂在左塾之前，次辂在右塾之前。

2.2 二人雀弁，执惠，立于毕门之内。四人綦弁，执戈上刃，夹两阶阼。一人冕，执刘，立于东堂。一人冕，执钺，立于西堂。一

【今译】

用无饰的几案。在东墙朝西的位置，铺设双层莞席，饰着绘有云气的花边，陈设雕刻的玉器，用无饰的几案。在堂的西边夹室朝南的位置，铺设双层青竹篾席，饰着黑丝绳连缀的花边，陈设漆器，用无饰的几案。

越玉五种，宝刀、赤刀、大训、大璧、琬、琰，陈列在西墙向东的席前。大玉、夷玉、天球、河图，陈列在东墙向西的席前。胤国制作的舞衣、大贝壳、大军鼓，陈列在西房。兑制作的戈、和制作的弓、垂制作的竹矢，陈列在东房。

王的玉车放置在宾客们所走的台阶前，金车放置在主人走的台阶前，象车放在门左侧堂屋的前面，木车放在门右侧堂屋的前面。

2.2 二人戴着赤黑色的礼帽，执三角矛，站在祖庙门里边。四人戴着青黑色的礼帽，执着戈，戈刃向前，夹着台阶，对面站在台阶两旁。一人戴着礼帽，拿着大斧，站立在东堂的前面。一人戴着礼



its variegated border, and the usual bench adorned with beautiful shells. In the side-space on the east, which faced the west, they placed the threefold mat of fine grass, with its border of painted silk, and the usual bench carved, and adorned with gems. Before the western side-chamber, and facing the south, they placed the threefold mat of fine bamboo, with its dark mixed border, and the usual lacquered bench.

(They set forth) also the five pairs of gems (or jade) , and the precious things of display. There were the red knife, the great lessons, the large round-and-convex symbol of jade, and the rounded and pointed maces, all in the side-space on the west; the large piece of jade, the pieces contributed by the wild tribes of the east, the heavenly sounding-stone, and the river-plan, —all in the side-space on the east; the dancing habits of Yin, the large . large tortoise-shell, and the large drum, —all in the western apartment; the spear of Dui, the bow of Huanghe River, and the bamboo arrows of Chui, —all in the eastern apartment.

The grand carriage was by the guests' steps, facing (the south) ; the next was by the eastern (or host's) steps, facing (the south) . The front carriage was placed before the left lobby, and the one that followed it before the right lobby.

Two men in brownish leather caps, and holding three-cornered halberts, stood inside the gate leading to the private apartments. Four men in caps of spotted deer-skin, holding spears with blades upturned from the base of the point, stood, one on each side of the steps east and west, and near to the platform of the hall. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the east (end) . One man in a great of-



【原文】

人冕，执戣，立于东垂。一人冕，执瞿，立于西垂。一人冕，执锐，立于侧阶。

2.3 王麻冕黼裳，由宾阶跻。卿士邦君麻冕蚁裳，入即位。太保、太史、太宗皆麻冕彤裳。太保承介圭，上宗奉同瑁，由阼阶跻。太史秉书，由宾阶跻，御王册命。

曰：“皇后凭玉几，道扬末命，命汝嗣训，临君周邦，率循大卞，燮和天下，用答扬文、武之光训。”

王再拜，兴，答曰：“眇眇予末小子，其能而乱四方以敬忌天威！”

乃受同瑁，王三宿，三祭，三咤。上宗曰：“飡！”太保受同，降，

【今译】

帽，拿着大斧，站立在西堂的前面。一人戴着礼帽，拿着戈形武器“戣”，站立在东堂外边。一人戴着礼帽，拿着戈形武器“瞿”，站立在西堂外边。还有一人戴着礼帽，拿着矛，站立在北堂北面的台阶上。

2.3 王戴着麻制的礼帽，穿着绣有斧形花纹的礼服，从西阶上来。卿士和众诸侯戴着麻制的礼帽，穿着黑色礼服，进入中庭，各人站在规定的位置上。太保、太史、太宗都戴着麻制的礼帽，穿着红色礼服。太保捧着大圭，太宗捧着酒杯和瑁，从东阶上来。太史拿着策书，从西阶走上来，进献策书给康王。

太史说：“大王靠着玉几，宣布他临终的教命，命令您继承文王、武王的大训，治理领导周国，遵守大法，协和天下，以宣扬文王、武王的光明教训。”

王再拜，然后起来，回答说：“我这个微末的小子，怎么能协和治理天下以敬畏天威啊？”

王接受了酒杯和瑁。前进三次，祭酒三次，奠酒三次。太宗说：



ficer's cap, and holding an axe of a different pattern, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the west end. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance, stood at the front and east of the hall, close by the steps. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance of a different pattern, stood in the corresponding place on the west. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a pointed weapon, stood by the steps on the north side of the hall.

The king, in a linen cap and the variously figured, skirt, ascended by the guests' steps, followed by the high ministers, (great) officers, and princes of states, in linen caps and dark-coloured skirts. Arrived in the hall, they all took their (proper) places. The Grand-Guardian, the Grand-Historiographer, and the Minister of Religion were all in linen caps and red skirts. The Grand-Guardian bore the great mace. The Minister of Religion bore the cup and the mace-cover. These two ascended by the steps on the east. The Grand Historiographer bore, the testamentary charge. He ascended by the guests' steps (on the west), and advanced to the king with the tablets containing the charge, and said, "Our royal sovereign, leaning on the gem-adorned bench, declared his last charge, and commanded you to continue (the observance of) the lessons, and to take the rule of the kingdom of Jin, complying with the great laws, and securing the harmony of all under the sky, so as to respond to and display the bright instructions of Wen and Wu."

The king twice bowed (low), and then arose, and replied, "I am utterly insignificant and but a child, how should I be able to govern the four quarters (of the kingdom) with a corresponding reverent awe of the dread majesty of Heaven!" He then received the

【原文】

盥，以异同秉璋以酢。授宗人同，拜。王答拜。太保受同，祭，哂，宅，授宗人同，拜。王答拜。太保降，收。诸侯出庙门俟。

【今译】

“请喝酒！”王喝酒后，太保接过酒杯，走下堂，洗手，又登上堂，用另外一种酒杯自斟自饮作答，然后把酒杯交给宗人，对王下拜。王也回拜。太保又从宗人那里接过酒杯，祭酒，尝酒，奠酒，然后把酒杯交给宗人，又拜。王又回拜。太保走下堂，行礼结束。诸侯卿士们都走出祖庙门，恭候康王视朝。





cup and the mace-cover. Thrice he slowly and reverently advanced with a cup of spirits (to the east of the coffin); thrice he sacrificed (to the spirit of his father); and thrice he put the cup down. The Minister of Religion said, "It is accepted."

The Grand-Guardian received the cup, descended the steps, and washed his hands. He then took another cup, (placed it on) a half-mace which he carried, and repeated the sacrifice. He then gave the cup to one of the attendants of the Minister of Religion, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian took a cup again, and poured out the spirits in sacrifice. He then just tasted the spirits, returned to his place, gave the cup to the attendant, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian descended from the hall, after which the various (sacrificial) articles were removed, and the princes all went out at the temple gate and waited.

康王之诰

【原文】

王出在应门之内。太保率西方诸侯，入应门左；毕公率东方诸侯，入应门右。皆布乘黄朱。宾称奉圭兼币，曰：“一二臣卫，敢执壤奠。”皆再拜稽首，王义嗣德，答拜。太保暨芮伯咸进相揖，皆再拜稽首曰：“敬告天子，皇天改大邦殷之命，惟周文武，诞受羙若，克恤西土；惟新陟王，毕协赏罚，戡定厥功，用敷遗后人休，今王敬之

【今译】

王出毕门，站在应门之内。太保率领西方诸侯，进入应门的左边；毕公率领东方诸侯，进入应门的右边。诸侯都陈列出四匹朱鬃的黄马。为首的客人举起手里捧着的兼币玉圭说道：“我们这几个藩卫之臣，敢以本邦的圭产进献新王。”说罢他就领着大家稽首再拜，王也遵照继嗣人的礼节答拜。太保及芮伯都进来跟诸侯互相作揖，然后一齐稽首再拜道：“敬告天子！皇天已经革了大邦殷的命，只因我周文王武王大受天命，能够顺天道行事，为我西土的人民担忧；又因我新受天命的王，赏罚皆当，终于完成大功，为后人留下美好的基





The Announcement of King Kang

The king came forth and stood (in the space) within the fourth gate of the palace, when the Grand-Guardian led in the princes of the western region by the left (half) of the gate, and the duke of Bi those of the eastern regions by the right (half). They then all caused their teams of light bay horses, with their manes and tails dyed red, to be exhibited; and, (as the king's) guests, lifted up their rank-symbols, and (the other) presents (they had brought), saying, "We, your servants, defenders (of the throne), venture to bring the productions of our territories, and lay them here." (With these words) they all did obeisance twice, laying their heads on the ground. The king, as the righteous successor to the virtue of those who had gone before him, returned their obeisance.

The Grand-Guardian and the earl of Rui, with all the rest, then advanced and bowed to each other, after which they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground, and said, "O Son of Heaven, we venture respectfully to declare our sentiments. Great Heaven altered its decree which the great House of Yin had received, and Wen and Wu of our Zhou grandly received the same, and carried it out, manifesting their kindly government in the western regions. His recently ascended majesty, rewarding and punishing exactly in accordance with what was right, fully established their achievements, and transmitted this happy state to



【原文】

哉！张皇六师，无坏我高祖寡命。”

王若曰：“庶邦侯甸男卫，惟予一人刳报诰。昔君文武，丕平富，不务咎；底至齐，信用昭明于天下；则亦有熊罴之士，不二心之臣，保乂王家。用端命于上帝，皇天用训厥道，付畀四方。乃命建侯树屏，在我后之人。今予一二伯父，尚胥暨顾，绥尔先公之臣服于先王。虽尔身在外，乃心罔不在王室，用奉恤厥若，无遗鞠子羞。”

群公既皆听命，相揖趋出，王释冕，反丧服。

【今译】

业，今王应当特别敬重它啊！要大力扩张我六军的威力，以保卫我高祖这少有的天命。”

王这样说：“众邦侯甸男卫诸君！听我一人刳答诰。我先君文王武王，轻徭薄赋，大力均平民富；宽刑省罚，不刻意追究人家的过错；总是不偏不倚，一切按中道行事，所以，他们的信用显明于天下；也就有一班勇如熊罴的武将和忠心不二的臣子来保治王家。文武既然使上天的赐命开了端，上天也就顺着他们付与安治四方的重任。他们下令封建诸侯，树立屏藩，用意全在我们后人。今天，我各位伯父，你们还得相与追念文武之德，安于你们先公臣服先王的故事，继续臣服于我。虽然你们身在外藩，你们的心无不向着王室。你们要时刻担心能否尽到各自的责任，千万不要荒忽职守，给我小子丢脸。”

群公都各听命，然后互相作揖退出去，王脱去黼冕，仍旧换上丧服，回倚庐守丧。



his successors. Do you, O king, now be reverent. Maintain your armies in great order, and do not allow the rarely equalled appointment of our high ancestors to come to harm. ”

The king spoke to the following effect: “Ye princes of the various states, chiefs of the Hou, Dian, Nan, and Wei domains, I, Zhao, the One man, make an announcement in return (for your advice). The former rulers, Wen and Wu, were greatly just and enriched (the people). They did not occupy themselves to find out people’s crimes. Pushing to the utmost and maintaining an entire impartiality and sincerity, they became gloriously illustrious all under heaven. Then they had officers brave as bears and grisly bears, and ministers of no double heart, who (helped them) to maintain and regulate the royal House. Thus (did they receive) the true favouring decree from God, and thus did great Heaven approve of their ways, and give them the four quarters (of the land). Then they appointed and set up principalities, and established bulwarks (to the throne), for the sake of us, their successors. Now do ye, my uncles, I pray you, consider with one another, and carry out the service which the dukes, your predecessors, rendered to my predecessors. Though your persons be distant, let your hearts be in the royal House. Enter thus into my anxieties, and act in accordance with them, so that I, the little child, may not be put to shame. ”

The dukes and all the others, having heard this charge, bowed to one another, and hastily withdrew. The king put off his cap, and assumed again his mourning dress.



毕 命 (伪古文尚书)

【原文】

1. 惟十有二年六月庚午，朏。越三日壬申，王朝步自宗周，至于丰，以成周之众，命毕公保厘东郊。

2. 王若曰：“呜呼！父师。惟文王武王敷大德于天下，用克受殷命。惟周公左右先王，绥定厥家，毖殷顽民，迁于洛邑，密迩王室，式化厥训。既历三纪，世变风移，四方无虞，予一人以宁。道有升

【今译】

1. 康王十二年六月庚午日，月亮新放光明。到第三天壬申日，康王早晨从镐京行到丰邑，把成周的民众，委托给太师毕公命他安治于东郊。

2. 康王这样说：“啊！父师。文王武王行大德于天下，因此能够承受殷的王命。周公辅助先王安定国家，告诫殷商顽民，迁徙到洛邑，使他们接近王室，因而他们被周公的教训感化了。自从迁徙以来，已经过了三纪。人世变化，风俗转移，今四方没有忧患，我因此感到安宁。治道有起有落，政教也随着风俗改革。若不善用贤能，人



The Charge to the Duke of Bi

In the sixth month of his twelfth year, the day of the new moon's appearance was Geng-wu, and on Ren-shen, the third day after, the king walked in the morning from the honoured capital of Zhou to Feng^①, and there, with reference to the multitudes of Cheng-Zhou, gave charge to the duke of Bi to protect and regulate the eastern border.

The king spoke to the following effect:—"Oh! Grand-Master, it was when Wen and Wu had diffused their great virtue all under heaven, that they therefore received the appointment which Yin had enjoyed. The duke of Zhou acted as assistant to my royal predecessors, and tranquillized and established their kingdom. Cautiously did he deal with the refractory people of Yin, and removed them to the city of Luo, that they might be quietly near the royal House, and be transformed by its lessons. Thirty-Six years have elapsed; the generation has been changed; and manners have altered. Through the four quarters of the land there is no occasion for anxiety, and I, the One man, enjoy repose.

"The prevailing ways now tend to advancement and now to degeneracy, and measures of government must be varied according to the manners (of the time). If you (now) do not manifest your ap-

① That is, he went from Hao, founded by King Wu, to Feng, the capital of Wen. The king wished to give his charge in the temple of King Wen, because the duke of Bi had been one of his ministers.



【原文】

降，政由俗革，不臧厥臧，民罔攸劝。惟公懋德，克勤小物，弼亮四世，正色率下，罔不祇师言。嘉绩多于先王，予小子垂拱仰成。”

3. 王曰：“呜呼！父师。今予祇命公以周公之事，往哉！旌别淑慝，表厥宅里，彰善癉恶，树之风声。弗率训典，殊厥井疆，俾克畏慕。申画郊圻，慎固封守，以康四海。政贵有恒，辞尚体要，不惟好异。商俗靡靡，利口惟贤，余风未殄，公其念哉！”

“我闻曰：‘世禄之家，鲜克由礼。’以荡陵德，实悖天道。敝化

【今译】

民将无所劝勉仰慕。我公盛德，不但能勤小事，而且辅助过四代，严正地率领下属，臣下没有人不敬重师训。你的美好功绩被先王所重视，我小子只有垂衣拱手仰仗成功罢了。”

3. 康王说：“啊！父师。现在我把周公的重任敬托给公，我公前往吧！我公到那里，当识别殷人的善和恶，标志善人所居之里，表彰善良，疾恨邪恶，树立好的风气。有不遵循教训和常法的，就变更他的井居田界，使他能够畏惧和敬慕。又要重新画出四郊的境界，认真加固那里的封疆守备，以安定四海之内。为政贵在有常，言辞应当体现精要，不宜标新立异。商地旧俗喜好侈靡，以巧辩为贤，余风至今没有断绝，我公要考虑呀！”

“我听说：‘世代享有禄位的人家，很少能够遵守礼法。’他们以



proval of what is good, "the people will not be led to stimulate themselves in it. But your virtue, O duke, is strenuous, and you are cautiously attentive to the smallest things. You have been helpful to and brightened four reigns; with deportment all correct leading on the inferior officers, so that there is not one who does not reverently take your words as a law. Your admirable merits were many (and great) in the times of my predecessors; I, the little child, have but to let my robes hang down, and fold my hands, while I look up for the complete effect (of your measures)."

The king said, "Oh! Grand-Master, I now reverently charge you with the duties of the duke of Zhou. Go! Signalize the good, separating the bad from them; give tokens of your approbation in their neighbourhoods, making it ill for the evil by such distinction of the good, and thus establishing the influence and reputation (of their virtue). When the people will not obey your lessons and statutes, mark off the boundaries of their hamlets, making them fear (to do evil), and desire (to do good). Define anew the borders and frontiers, and be careful to strengthen the guard-posts through the territory, in order to secure tranquillity (within) the four seas. In measures of government to be consistent and constant, and in proclamations a combination of completeness and brevity, and valuable. There should not be the love of what is extraordinary. Among the customs of Shang was the flattery of superiors; sharp-tonguedness was the sign of worth. The remains of these manners are not yet obliterated. Do you, O duke, bear this in mind. I have heard the saying, 'Families which have for generations enjoyed places of emolument seldom observe the rules of propriety. They become dissolute, and do violence to virtue, setting themselves in



【原文】

奢丽，万世同流。兹殷庶士，席宠惟旧，怙侈灭义，服美于人。骄淫矜侔，将由恶终。虽收放心，闲之惟艰。资富能训，惟以永年。惟德惟义，时乃大训，不由古训，于何其训？”

4. 王曰：“呜呼！父师。邦之安危，惟兹殷士。不刚不柔，厥德允修。惟周公克慎厥始，惟君陈克和厥中，惟公克成厥终。三后协心，同底于道，道洽政治，泽润生民。四夷左衽，罔不咸赖，予小子永膺多福。公其惟时成周，建无穷之基，亦有无穷之闻。子孙训其成

【今译】

放荡之心，轻蔑有德的人，实在是悖乱天道。腐败的风俗奢侈华丽，万世相同。如今殷遗的众士，处在宠位已经很久，凭仗强大，忽视德义，穿着华美的服饰。他们骄恣过度，矜能自夸，将会以恶自终。放恣之心今天虽然收敛了，但约束他们还是难事。家财富足而能接受教训，可以长久。行德行义，这是天下的大训；若不用古训教导，他们何时会顺从呢？”

4. 康王说：“啊！父师。我国的安危，就在于这些殷商众士。不刚不柔，那样的教化就真好。开初，周公能够谨慎对待；中间，君陈能够使他们和谐；最后，我公当能够成功。三君合心，共同归向于教导，教导普遍了，政事治理了，就能润泽到生民。即使四方各族被发左衽的人民，都会受到福泽，我小子也会长受大福。我公当治理好成



positive opposition to the way of Heaven. They ruin the formative principles of good; encourage extravagance and display; and tend to carry all (future ages) on the same stream with them. ' Now the officers of Yin had long relied on the favour which they enjoyed. In the confidence of their prideful extravagance they extinguished their (sense of) righteousness. They displayed before men the beauty of their robes-proud, licentious, arrogant, and boastful;—the natural issue was that they should end in being thoroughly bad. Although their lost minds have (in a measure) been recovered, it is difficult to keep them under proper restraint. If with their property and wealth they can be brought under the influence of instruction, they may enjoy lengthened years, virtue, and righteousness! —These are the great lessons. If you do not follow in dealing with them these lessons of antiquity, wherein will you instruct them?"

The king said, "Oh! Grand-Master, the security or the danger of the kingdom depends on those officers of Yin. If you are not (too) stern with them nor (too) mild, their virtue will be truly cultivated. The duke of Zhou exercised the necessary caution at the beginning (of the undertaking); Jun-chen displayed the harmony proper to the middle of it; and you, O duke, can bring it at last to a successful issue. You three princes will have been one in aim, and will have equally pursued the proper way. The penetrating power of your principles, and the good character of your measures of government, will exert an enriching influence on the character of the people, so that the wild tribes, with their coats buttoning on the left, will all find their proper support in them, and I, the little child, will long enjoy much happiness. Thus, O duke, there in

【原文】

式，惟乂。呜呼！罔曰弗克，惟既厥心；罔曰民寡，惟慎厥事。钦若先王成烈，以休于前政！”

【今译】

周，建立无穷的基业，也会有无穷的美名。后世子孙顺从我公的成法，天下就安定了。啊！不要说不能，当尽自己的心；不要说百姓少，当慎行政事。认真治理好先王的大业，使它比前人的政绩更好吧！”



Cheng-Zhou will you establish for ever the power (of Zhou), and you will have an inexhaustible fame. Your descendants will follow your perfect pattern, governing accordingly.

“Oh! do not say, ‘I am unequal to this’; but exert your mind to the utmost. Do not say, ‘The people are few’; but attend carefully to your business. Reverently follow the accomplished achievements of the former kings, and complete the excellence of the government of your predecessors.”





君 牙 (伪古文尚书)

【原文】

1. 王若曰：“呜呼！君牙。惟乃祖乃父，世笃忠贞；服劳王家，厥有成绩，纪于太常。惟予小子，嗣守文、武、成、康遗绪，亦惟先王之臣克左右乱四方。心之忧危，若蹈虎尾，涉于春冰。

2. “今命尔予翼，作股肱心膂。缵乃旧服，无忝祖考！弘敷五典，式和民则。尔身克正，罔敢弗正；民心罔中，惟尔之中。夏暑

【今译】

1. 穆王这样说：“啊！君牙。你的祖父和你的父亲，世世纯厚忠正；服劳于王家，很有成绩，记录在先王画有日月的旗子上。我小子继守文、武、成、康的遗业，也想先王的臣子能够辅助我治理四方。任重道远，我心里的忧虑危惧，就像踩着虎尾和走在春天的冰上。

2. “现在我命令你辅助我，作我的心腹重臣。要继续你旧日的行事，做到无愧于自己的前人！普遍传布五常的教育，以和谐人民的准则。你自身能正，人民不敢不正；民心没有标准，只考虑你的标准。夏天大热大雨，小民只是怨恨嗟叹；冬天大寒，小民也只是怨恨嗟



The Jun-ya

The king spoke to the following effect:—"Oh! Jun-ya, your grandfather and your father, one after the other, with a true loyalty and honesty, laboured in the service of the royal House, accomplishing a merit that was recorded on the grand banner^①. I, the little child, have become charged by inheritance with the line of government transmitted from Wen and Wu, from Cheng and Kang; I also keep thinking of their ministers who aided them in the good government of the kingdom; the trembling anxiety of my mind makes me feel as if I were treading on a tiger's tail, or walking upon spring ice. I now give you charge to assist me; be as my limbs to me, as my heart and backbone. Continue their old service, and do not disgrace your grandfather and father.

"Diffuse widely (the knowledge of) the five invariable relations (of society), and reverently seek to produce a harmonious observance of the duties belonging to them among the people. If you are correct in your own person, none will dare to be but correct. The minds of the people cannot attain to the right mean (of duty);—they must be guided by your attaining to it. In the heat and rains of summer, the inferior people may be described as mur-

① The grand banner was borne aloft when the king went to sacrifice. There were figures of the sun and moon on it, and dragon lying along its breadth, one over the other, head above tail. The names of meritorious ministers were inscribed on it during their lifetime, preparatory to their sharing in the sacrifices of the ancestral temple after their death.



【原文】

雨，小民惟曰怨咨；冬祁寒，小民亦惟曰怨咨。厥惟艰哉！思其艰以图其易，民乃宁。呜呼！丕显哉！文王谟；丕承哉！武王烈。启佑我后人，咸以正罔缺。尔惟敬明乃训，用奉若于先王。对扬文武之光命，追配于前人。”

3. 王若曰：“君牙！乃惟由先正旧典时式，民之治乱在兹。率乃祖考之攸行，昭乃辟之有义。”

【今译】

叹。治民艰难呀！你要想到他们的艰难，因而谋求那些治理的办法，人民才会安宁。啊！光明呀！我们文王的谋略；相承呀！我们武王的功业。它可以启示佑助我们后人，使我们都依从正道而无缺陷。你当不懈地宣扬你的教训，以此恭顺于先王。你当报答颂扬文王、武王光明的教导，追求并美于前人。”

3. 穆王这样说：“君牙！你当奉行先王的旧典善法，人民治乱的关键，就在这里。你当遵循你祖父的行为，赞助你君主的治道。”



muring and sighing. And so it is with them in the great cold of winter. How great are their hardships! Think of their hardships in order to seek to promote their ease; and the people will be tranquil. Oh! how great and splendid were the plans of king Wen! How greatly were they carried out by the energy of king Wu! All in principle correct, and deficient in nothing, they are for the help and guidance of us their descendants. Do you with reverence and wisdom carry out your instructions, enabling me to honour and follow the example of my (immediate) predecessors, and to respond to and display the bright decree conferred on Wen and Wu;—so shall you be the mate of your by-gone fathers. ”

The king spoke to the following effect:—“Jun-ya, do you take for your rule the lessons afforded by the courses of your excellent fathers. The good or the bad order of the people depends on this. You will thus follow the practice of your grandfather and father, and make the good government of your sovereign illustrious. ”

罔 命 (伪古文尚书)

【原文】

1. 王若曰：“伯罔！惟予弗克于德。嗣先人宅丕后，怵惕惟厉；中夜以兴，思免厥愆。

“昔在文武，聪明齐圣，小大之臣，咸怀忠良。其侍御仆从罔匪正人，以旦夕承弼厥辟，出入起居罔有不钦，发号施令罔有不臧。下民祇若，万邦咸休。

“惟予一人无良，实赖左右前后有位之士，匡其不及。绳愆纠谬，格其非心，俾克绍先烈。

2. “今予命汝作大正，正于群仆侍御之臣。懋乃后德，交修不逮。慎简乃僚，无以巧言令色、便辟侧媚，其惟吉士。仆臣正，厥后

【今译】

1. 穆王这样说：“伯罔！我由于不能修德。继承先人处在大君的位置，心里恐惧会有危险，甚至半夜醒来，都想着如何避免过失。

“从前在文王、武王的时候，他们聪明、通达、圣明，小臣大臣都怀着忠良之心。他们的侍御近臣，没有人不是正人，早晚侍奉辅佐他们的君主，所以君主出入起居，没有不敬慎的事；发号施令，也没有不好的。百姓敬重顺从君主的命令，天下万国也都喜欢。

“我没有好的德行，实在要依赖左右前后的官员，匡正我的不到之处。纠正过错，端正我不正确的思想，使我能够继承先王的功业。

2. “今天我任命你作太仆长，领导群仆、侍御之臣。你们要勉励君王增修德行，共同医治我不够的地方。你要慎重选择你的部属，不要任用巧言令色、阿谀奉承的人，要都是贤良正士。仆侍近臣都正，



The Charge to Jiong

The king spoke to the following effect:—"Bo-jiong, I come short in virtue, and have succeeded to the former kings, to occupy the great throne. I am fearful, and conscious of the peril (of my position). I rise at midnight, and think how I can avoid falling into errors. Formerly Wen and Wu were endowed with all intelligence, august and sage, while their ministers, small and great, all cherished loyalty and goodness. Their servants, charioteers, chamberlains, and followers were all men of correctness; morning and evening waiting on their sovereign's wishes, or supplying his deficiencies. (Those kings), going out and coming in, rising up and sitting down, were thus made reverent. Their every warning or command was good. The people yielded a reverent obedience, and the myriad regions were all happy. But I, the One man, am destitute of goodness, and really depend on the officers who have places about me to help my deficiencies, applying the line to my faults, and exhibiting my errors, thus correcting my bad heart, and enabling me to be the successor of my meritorious predecessors.

"Now I appoint you to be High Chamberlain, to see that all the officers in your department and my personal attendants are upright and correct, that they strive to promote the virtue of their sovereign, and together supply my deficiencies. Be careful in selecting your officers. Do not employ men of artful speech and insinuating looks, men whose likes and dislikes are ruled by mine, one-sided



【原文】

克正；仆臣谀，厥后自圣。后德惟臣，不德惟臣。尔无昵于俭人，充耳目之官，迪上以非先王之典。非人其吉，惟货其吉，若时，瘝厥官，惟尔大弗克祗厥辟；惟予汝辜。”

3. 王曰：“呜呼！钦哉！永弼乃后于彝宪。”

【今译】

他们的君主才能正；仆侍近臣谄媚，他们的君主就会自以为圣明。君主有德，由于臣下；君主失德，也由于臣下。你不要亲近小人，充当我的视听之官，不要引导君上违背先王之法。如果不以贤人最善，只以货财最善，像这样，就会败坏我们的官职，就是你大大地不能敬重你的君主；我将惩罚你。”

3. 穆王：“啊！要认真呀！要长久用常法辅助你的君主。”

men and flatterers; but employ good men. When these household officers are correct, the sovereign will be correct; when they are flatterers, the sovereign will consider himself a sage. His virtue or his want of it equally depends on them. Cultivate no intimacy with flatterers, nor get them to do duty for me as my ears and eyes;— they will lead their sovereign to disregard the statutes of the former kings. If you choose the men not for their personal goodness, but for the sake of their bribes, their offices will be made of no effect, your great want of reverence for your sovereign will be apparent, and I will hold you guilty. ”

The king said, “Oh! be reverent! Ever help your sovereign to follow the regular laws of duty(which he should exemplify). ”



吕 刑

【原文】

1.1 惟吕命，王享国百年，耄，荒度作刑，以诘四方。

1.2 王曰：“若古有训，蚩尤惟始作乱，延及于平民，罔不寇贼，鸱义奸宄，夺攘矫虔。苗民弗用灵，制以刑，惟作五虐之刑曰法。杀戮无辜，爰始淫为劓刵椓黥。越兹丽刑并制，罔差有辞。

“民兴胥渐，泯泯棼棼，罔中于信，以覆诅盟。虐威庶戮，方告无辜于上。上帝监民，罔有馨香德，刑发闻惟腥。

【今译】

1.1 吕侯被命为卿时，穆王在位很久，年纪老了，还是广泛谋求制定刑法，来禁戒天下。

1.2 王说：“古代有遗训，蚩尤开始作乱，恶习扩大到平民百姓。无不互相寇掠贼害，作奸犯科，内外作乱，争夺窃盗，诈骗强取。苗民不遵守政令，就用刑罪来制服，制定了五种酷刑以为法律。渐渐杀害无罪的人，开始放肆使用截鼻、断耳、宫刑、黥面等刑罚。于是，施行杀戮，抛弃法制，不减免无罪的人。

“从而使苗民互相欺诈，纷纷乱乱，没有公平和信义，以致背叛誓约。受了虐刑和一些被侮辱的人都向上帝申告自己无罪。上帝考察民情，没有芬芳的德政，刑法所发散的只有腥气。





The Marquis of Lü on Punishments

When the king had occupied the throne till he reached the age of a hundred years, he gave great consideration to the appointment of punishments, in order to deal with (the people of) the four quarters.

The king said, "According to the teachings of ancient times, Chi You was the first to produce disorder, which spread among the quiet, orderly people, till all became robbers and murderers, owl-like and yet self-complacent in their conduct, traitors and villains, snatching and filching, dissemblers and oppressors.

"Among the people of Miao, they did not use the power of goodness, but the restraint of punishments. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws. They slaughtered the innocent, and were the first also to go to excess in cutting off the nose, cutting off the ears, castration, and branding. All who became liable to those punishments were dealt with without distinction, no difference being made in favour of those who could offer some excuse. The people were gradually affected by this state of things, and became dark and disorderly. Their hearts were no more set on good faith, but they violated their oaths and covenants. The multitudes who suffered from the oppressive terrors, and were (in danger of) being murdered, declared their innocence to Heaven. God surveyed the people, and there was no fragrance of virtue arising from them, but the rank odour of their (cru-



【原文】

“皇帝哀矜庶戮之不辜，报虐以威，遏绝苗民，无世在下，乃命重黎，绝地天通，罔有降格。群后之逮在下，明明棐常，齔寡无盖。

“皇帝清问下民齔寡有辞于苗。德威惟畏，德明惟明。乃命三后，恤功于民。伯夷降典，折民惟刑；禹平水土，主名山川；稷降播种，农殖嘉谷。三后成功，惟殷于民。士制百姓于刑之中，以教祗德。

“穆穆在上，明明在下，灼于四方，罔不惟德之勤，故乃明于刑

【今译】

“天帝哀怜众多被害的人没有罪过，就用威罚处置肆行虐刑的人，制止和消灭行虐的苗民，使他们没有后嗣留在世间。又命令重和黎，禁止使用巫术，断绝神和民再不能沟通来往了。高辛、尧、舜相继在下，都任用贤德的人，扶持常道，于是孤苦之人的苦情，可以申诉了。

“尧皇帝清楚地听到下民和孤寡对苗民的怨言。于是提拔贤人，贤人所惩罚的，人都畏服，贤人所尊重的，人都尊重。命令三位方国君主下到民间，慎重地为民服务。伯夷颁布法典，用刑律制服人民；大禹平治水土，负责名山大川；后稷教民播种，努力种植庄稼。三位君主成功了，就富足了老百姓。士师又用公正的刑罚制御百官，教导臣民敬重德行。

“尧皇帝秉持美德在上，三位大臣努力治事在下，光照四方，没有人不勤行德政，所以能勉力于刑罚的公平，治理老百姓以扶持常



el) punishments.

“The great Emperor compassionated the innocent multitudes that were (in danger of) being murdered, and made the oppressors feel the terrors of his majesty. He restrained and (finally) extinguished the people of Miao, so that they should not continue to future generations. Then he commissioned Zhong and Li to make an end of the communications between earth and heaven; and the descents (of spirits) ceased. From the princes down to the inferior officers, all helped with clear intelligence (the spread of) the regular principles of duty, and the solitary and widows were no longer overlooked. The great Emperor with an unprejudiced mind carried his enquiries low down among the people, and the solitary and widows laid before him their complaints against the Miao. He awed the people by the majesty of his virtue, and enlightened them by its brightness. He thereupon charged the three princely (ministers) to labour with compassionate anxiety in the people's behalf. Bo-yi delivered his statutes to prevent the people from rendering themselves obnoxious to punishment; Yü reduced to order the water and the land, and presided over the naming of the hills and rivers; Ji spread abroad a knowledge of agriculture, and (the people) extensively cultivated the admirable grains. When the three princes had accomplished their work, it was abundantly well with the people. The Minister of Crime exercised among them the restraint of punishment in exact adaptation to each offence, and taught them to reverence virtue. The greatest gravity and harmony in the sovereign, and the greatest intelligence in those below him, thus shining forth to all quarters (of the land), all were rendered diligent in cultivating their virtue. Hence, (if anything more were wanted),



【原文】

之中，率义于民棐彝。典狱非讫于威，惟讫于富。敬忌，罔有择言在身。惟克天德，自作元命，配享在下。”

1.3 王曰：“嗟！四方司政典狱，非尔惟作天牧？今尔何监？非时伯夷播刑之迪？其今尔何惩？惟时苗民匪察于狱之丽，罔择吉人，观于五刑之中；惟时庶威夺货，断制五刑，以乱无辜，上帝不蠲，降咎于苗，苗民无辞于罚，乃绝厥世。”

1.4 王曰：“呜呼！念之哉！伯父、伯兄、仲叔、季弟、幼子、童孙，皆听朕言，庶有格命。今尔罔不由慰日勤，尔罔或戒不勤。天齐于民，俾我一日，非终惟终，在人。尔尚敬逆天命，以奉我一人！”

【今译】

道。主管刑罚的官，不是作威，而是心存仁厚。又敬、又戒，自身不说坏话。他们肩负上天仁爱的美德，自己造就了好命，所以配天在下享有禄位。”

1.3 王说：“啊！执掌刑狱的四方的各级官员们，你们不是做上天的治民官吗？现在，你们效法谁呢？难道不是这伯夷施行刑罚的道理吗？现在你们要用什么作为惩戒呢？就是苗民不详察狱事而滥用刑罚，不选择善良的人，监察五刑的公正，而是任用虚张威势，掠夺财物的人，裁决五刑，乱罚无罪，上帝不能赦免他们，降灾给苗民，苗民对上帝的惩罚无话可说，于是断绝了他们的后嗣。”

1.4 王说：“啊！你们要记住这个教训啊！伯父、伯兄、仲叔、季弟以及年幼的子孙们，都听从我的话，或许会享有好命。如今你们安于现状，只是口里说说要勤勉罢了。民众有罪行，老天要处理。上



the clear adjudication of punishments effected the regulation of the people, and helped them to observe the regular duties of life. The officers who presided over criminal cases executed the law (fearlessly) against the powerful, and (faithfully) against the wealthy. They were reverent and cautious. They had no occasion to make choice of words to vindicate their conduct. The virtue of Heaven was attained to by them; from them was the determination of so great a matter as the lives (of men). In their low sphere they yet corresponded (to Heaven) and enjoyed (its favour)".

The king said, "Ah! you who direct the government and preside over criminal cases through all the land, are you not constituted the shepherds of Heaven? To whom ought you now to look as your pattern? Is it not to Bo-yi, spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments? And from whom ought you now to take warning? Is it not from the people of Miao, who would not examine into the circumstances of criminal cases, and did not make choice of good officers that should see to the right apportioning of the five punishments, but chose the violent and bribe-snatchers, who determined and administered them, so as to oppress the innocent, until God would no longer hold them guiltless, and sent down calamity on Miao, when the people had no plea to allege in mitigation of their punishment, and their name was cut off from the world?"

The king said, "Oh! lay it to heart. My uncles, and all ye, my brethren and cousins, my sons and my grandsons, listen all of you to my words, in which, it may be, you will receive a most important charge. You will only tread the path of satisfaction by being daily diligent;—do not have occasion to beware of the want of dili-



【原文】

虽畏勿畏，虽休勿休，惟敬五刑，以成三德。一人有庆，兆民赖之，其宁惟永。”

2. 王曰：“吁！来，有邦有土，告尔祥刑，在今尔安百姓，何择，非人？何敬，非刑？何度，非及？

“两造具备，师听五辞；五辞简孚，正于五刑；五刑不简，正于五罚；五罚不服，正于五过。五过之疵：惟官、惟反、惟内、惟货、惟来。其罪惟均，其审克之！”

“五刑之疑有赦，五罪之疑有赦，其审克之！简孚有众，惟貌有

【今译】

帝治理下民，暂时任用我们，不成与成，完全在人。你们可要恭敬地接受天命，来辅助我！虽然遇到可怕的事，不要害怕；虽然可以休息，也不要休息。希望慎用五刑，养成刚、柔、中正这三种德行。一人办了好事，万民都受益，国家的安宁就会长久了。

2. 王说：“啊！来吧！诸侯国君和各位大臣，我告诉你们要善用刑法。如今你们安定百姓，要选择什么呢，不是吉人吗？要慎重什么呢，不正是刑罚吗？要考虑什么呢，不就是判断适宜吗？

“原告和被告都来齐了，法官就审查狱讼中双方的讼辞；如果讼辞核实可信，就用五刑来处理。如果囚犯经过覆审不合所考察结果，属于情状不定，不再处以五刑，而应定从五罚，让罪犯出罚金赎罪。如果用五罚处理也不合适，就用五过来处理。五过的弊端是：法官畏权势，报恩怨，谄媚内亲，索取贿赂，受人请求。发现上述弊端，法官的罪就与罪犯相同，你们必须详细察实啊！”

“根据五刑定罪的疑案有赦免的，根据五罚定罪的疑案有赦免的，



gence. Heaven, in its wish to regulate the people, allows us for a day to make use of punishments. Whether crimes have been premeditated, or are unpremeditated, depends on the parties concerned;—do you (deal with them so as to) accord with the mind of Heaven, and thus serve me, the One man. Though I would put them to death, do not you therefore put them to death; though I would spare them, do not you therefore spare them. Reverently apportion the five punishments, so as fully to exhibit the three virtues. Then shall I, the One man, enjoy felicity; the people will look to you as their sure dependance; the repose of such a state will be perpetual. ”

The king said, “Ho! come, ye rulers of states and territories, I Will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. It is yours now to give repose to the people;—what should you be most concerned about the choosing of? Should it not be the proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most carefully? Should it not be to whom these will reach?

“When both parties are present, (with their documents and witnesses) all complete, let the judges listen to the fivefold statements that may be made. When they have examined and fully made up their minds on those, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments. If the five punishments do not meet it, let them adjust it to one of the five redemption-fines; and if these, again, are not sufficient for it, let them reckon it among the five cases of error.

“In (settling) the five cases of error there are evils (to be guarded against);—being warped by the influence of power, or by



【原文】

稽。无简不听，具严天威。

“墨辟疑赦，其罚百锾，阅实其罪。

“劓辟疑赦，其罚惟倍，阅实其罪。

“剕辟疑赦，其罚倍差，阅实其罪。

“宫辟疑赦，其罚六百锾，阅实其罪。

“大辟疑赦，其罚千锾，阅实其罪。

“墨罚之属千，劓罚之属千，剕罚之属五百，宫罚之属三百，大辟之罚其属二百。五刑之属三千。

“上下比罪，无僭乱辞，勿用不行，惟察惟法，其审克之！上刑适轻，下服；下刑适重，上服。轻重诸罚有权。刑罚世轻世重，惟齐

【今译】

要详细察实啊！要从众人中核实验证，审理案件也要有共同办案的人。没有核实不能治罪，应当共同敬畏上天的威严。

“判处墨刑感到可疑，可以从轻处治，罚金一百锾，要核实其罪行。

“判处劓刑感到可疑，可以从轻处治，罚金二百锾，要核实其罪行。

“判处剕刑感到可疑，可以从轻处治，罚金五百锾，要核实其罪行。

“判处宫刑感到可疑，可以从轻处治，罚金六百锾，要核实其罪行。

“判处死刑感到可疑，可以从轻处治，罚金一千锾，要核实其罪行。

“墨罚的条目有一千，劓罚的条目有一千，剕罚的条目有五百，宫罚的条目有三百，死罪的刑罚，其条目有二百。五种刑罚的条目共有三千。

“要上下比较其罪行，不要错乱供词，不要采取已经废除的法律，应当明察，应当依法，要核实啊！上刑宜于减轻，就减一等处治；下刑宜于加重，就加一等处治。各种刑罚的轻重允许有些灵活性。刑罚



private grudge, or by female solicitation, or by bribes, or by applications. Any one of these things should be held equal to the crime (before the judges). Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to (every difficulty).

“When, in a doubtful case, the punishment of branding is forborne, the fine to be laid on instead is 600 ounces (of copper); but you must first have satisfied yourselves as to the crime. When the case would require the cutting off the nose, the fine must be double this—with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be the cutting off the feet, the fine must be 3,000 ounces;—with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be castration, the fine must be 3,600 ounces;—with the same determination. When the punishment would be death, the fine must be 6,000 ounces;—with the same determination. Of crimes that may be redeemed by the fine in lieu of branding there are 1,000; and the same number of those that would otherwise incur cutting off the nose. The fine in lieu of cutting off the feet extends to 500 cases; that in lieu of castration, to 300; and that in lieu of death, to 200. Altogether, set against the five punishments, there are 3,000 crimes. (In the case of others not exactly defined), you must class them with the (next) higher or (next) lower offences, not admitting assumptive and disorderly pleadings, and not using obsolete laws. Examine and act lawfully, judging carefully, and proving yourselves equal (to every difficulty).

“Where the crime should incur one of the higher punishments, but there are mitigating circumstances, apply to it the next lower. Where it should incur one of the lower punishments, but



【原文】

非齐，有伦有要。

“罚惩非死，人极于病，非佞折狱，惟良折狱，罔非在中。察辞于差，非从惟从。哀敬折狱，明启刑书胥占，咸庶中正。其刑其罚，其审克之！狱成而孚，输而孚。其刑上备，有并两刑。”

3. 王曰：“呜呼！敬之哉！官伯族姓，朕言多惧。朕敬于刑，有德惟刑。今天相民，作配在下。明清于单辞，民之乱，罔不中听狱之

【今译】

时轻时重，相同或不相同进行调整，都有它的道理和纲要。

“刑罚虽不置人死地，但受刑罚的人感到比重病还痛苦。不是巧辩的人审理案件，而是善良的人审理案件，就没有不公正合理的。从矛盾处考察供词，不服从的犯人也会服从。应当怀着哀怜的心情判决诉讼案件，明白地检查刑书，互相斟酌，都要以公正为标准。当刑当罚，要详细察实啊！要做到案件判定了，人们信服；改变判决，人们也信服。刑罚贵在慎重，有时也可以把两种罪行合并考虑，只罚一种。”

3. 王说：“啊，谨慎啊！诸侯国君以及同姓官员们，对我的话要多多戒惧。我重视刑罚，施行德政也离不开善用刑罚。如今上天扶助



there are aggravating circumstances, apply to it the next higher. The light and heavy fines are to be apportioned (in the same way) by the balance of circumstances. Punishments and fines should (also) be light in one age, and heavy in another. To secure uniformity in this (seeming) irregularity, there are certain relations of things (to be considered), and the essential principle (to be observed).

"The chastisement of fines is short of death, yet it will produce extreme distress. They are not (therefore) persons of artful tongues who should determine criminal cases, but really good persons, whose awards will hit the right mean. Examine carefully where there are any discrepancies in the statements; the view which you were resolved not to follow, you may see occasion to follow; with compassion and reverence settle the cases; examine carefully the penal code, and deliberate with all about it, that your decisions may be likely to hit the proper mean and be correct;—whether it be the infliction of a punishment or a fine, examining carefully and mastering every difficulty. When the case is thus concluded, all parties will acknowledge the justice of the sentence; and when it is reported, the sovereign will do the same. In sending up reports of cases, they must be full and complete. If a man have been tried on two counts, his two punishments (must be recorded)."

The king said, "Oh! let there be a feeling of reverence. Ye judges and princes, of the same surname with me, and of other surnames, (know all) that I speak in much fear. I think with reverence of the subject of punishment, for the end of it is to promote virtue. Now Heaven, wishing to help the people, has made us its



【原文】

两辞，无或私家于狱之两辞！狱货非宝，惟府辜功，报以庶尤。永畏惟罚，非天不中，惟人在命。天罚不极，庶民罔有令政在于天下。”

王曰：“呜呼！嗣孙，今往何监？非德？于民之中，尚明听之哉！哲人惟刑，无疆之辞，属于五极，咸中有庆。受王嘉师，监于兹祥刑！”

【今译】

老百姓，你们是在下面承配天意。应当明察一面之辞，老百姓的治理，无不在于公正地审理双方的诉讼词，不要贪图私利来听取一面之辞啊！狱讼接受贿赂不是好事，那是获罪的事，我将以犯罪来论处这些人。永远可畏的是上天的惩罚，不是天道不公平，只是人们自己获罪于天。上天的惩罚不加到他们身上，众民就不知有美好的政治在天下了。”

王说：“啊！子孙们，从今以后，我监察什么呢？难道不是行德吗？对于老百姓案情的判决，要明察啊！治理老百姓要运用刑罚，明察无穷无尽的讼辞使之合于五刑，都能处置公正适当，就有福庆。你们接受治理我的好百姓，可要明察这种善用刑的道理啊！”



representatives here below. Be intelligent and pure in hearing (each) side of a case. The right ordering of the people depends on the impartial hearing of the pleas on both sides;—do not seek for private advantage to yourselves by means of those pleas. Gain (so) got by the decision of cases is no precious acquisition; it is an accumulation of guilt, and will be recompensed with many judgments;—you should ever stand in awe of the punishment of Heaven. It is not Heaven that does not deal impartially with men, but men ruin themselves. If the punishment of Heaven were not so extreme, nowhere under the sky would the people have good government. ”

The king said, “Oh! ye who shall hereafter inherit (the dignities and offices of) the present time, to whom are ye to look for your models? Must it not be to those who promoted the virtue belonging to the unbiassed nature of the people? I pray you give attention to my words. The wise men (of antiquity) by their use of punishments obtained boundless fame. Everything relating to the five punishments exactly hit with them the due mean, and hence came their excellence. Receiving from your sovereigns the good multitudes, behold in the case of those men punishments made felicitous!”



文侯之命

【原文】

1. 王若曰：“父义和！丕显文、武，克慎明德，昭升于上，敷闻在下，惟时上帝集厥命于文王。亦惟先正克左右昭事厥辟，越小大谋猷罔不率从，肆先祖怀在位。

“呜呼！闵予小子嗣，造天丕愆。殄资泽于下民，侵戎我国家纯。即我御事，罔或耆寿俊在厥服，予则罔克。曰：‘惟祖惟父，其伊恤朕躬！’呜呼！有绩予一人永绥在位。

“父义和！汝克绍乃显祖，汝肇刑文、武，用会绍乃辟，追孝于

【今译】

1. 王这样说：“族父义和啊！伟大光明的文王和武王，能够慎重行德，德辉升到上天，名声传播在下土，于是上帝降下那福命给文王。也因为先前的公卿大夫能够辅佐、指导、服事他们的君主，对于君主的大小谋略无不遵从，所以先祖能够安然在位。

“啊！不幸我这年轻人继承王位，遭到了上天的大责罚。没有福利德泽施给老百姓，侵犯我国家的人很多。现在我的治事大臣，没有老成人长期在职，我便不能胜任了。我呼吁：‘祖辈和父辈的诸侯国君，要替我担忧啊！’唉！你们帮助我取得了成绩，才能促成我长久安居在王位。

“族父义和啊！您能够继承您的先祖唐叔，您努力制御文武百官，会合诸侯相助了您的君主，追怀效法文王和武王。您很好，在困难的



The Charge to the Marquis Wen

The king spoke to the following effect:—"Uncle Yi-he, how illustrious were Wen and Wu! Carefully did they make their virtue brilliant, till it rose brightly on high, and the fame of it was widely diffused here below. Therefore God caused his favouring decree to light upon king Wen. There were ministers also (thereafter), who aided and illustriously served their sovereigns, following and carrying out their plans, great and small, so that my fathers sat tranquilly on the throne.

"Oh! an object of pity am I, who am (but as) a little child. just as I have succeeded to the throne, Heaven has severely chastised me. Through the interruption of the (royal) bounties that ceased to descend to the inferior people, the invading barbarous tribes of the west have greatly (injured) our kingdom. Moreover, among the managers of my affairs there are none of age and experience and distinguished ability in their offices. I am (thus) unequal (to the difficulties of my position), and say to myself, 'My grand-uncles and uncles, you ought to compassionate my case.' Oh! if there were those who could establish their merit in behalf of me, the One man, I might long enjoy repose upon the throne.

"Uncle Yi-he, you render still more glorious your illustrious ancestor. You were the first to imitate the example of Wen and Wu, collecting (the scattered powers), and continuing (the all but broken line of) your sovereign, Your filial piety goes back to your



【原文】

前文人。汝多修，扞我于艰，若汝，予嘉。”

2. 王曰：“父义和！其归视尔师，宁尔邦。用赉尔秬鬯一卣；彤弓一，彤矢百；卢弓一，卢矢百；马四匹。

“父往哉！柔远能迩，惠康小民，无荒宁，简恤尔都，用成尔显德。”

【今译】

时候保卫了我，像您这样，我很赞美！”

2. 王说：“族父义和啊！要回去治理您的臣民，安定您的国家。现在我赐给您黑黍香酒一卣；红色的弓一张，红色的箭一百支；黑色的弓一张，黑色的箭一百支；四匹马。

“您回去吧！安抚远方，亲善近邻，爱护安定老百姓，不要荒废政事，贪图安逸。大力安定您的国家，以成就您显著的德行。”



accomplished ancestor, (and is equal to his.) You have done much to repair my(losses) ,and defend me in my difficulties, and of you ,being such, I am full of admiration. ”

The king said, “Uncle Yi-he, return home, survey your multitudes, and tranquillize your state. I reward you with a jar of spirits, distilled from the black millet, and flavoured with odoriferous herbs, with a red bow, and a hundred red arrows; with a black bow, and a hundred black arrows; and with four horses. Go, my uncle. Show kindness to those that are far off, and help those who are near at hand; cherish and secure the repose of the inferior people; do not idly seek your ease; exercise an inspection and (benign) compassion in your capital (and all your borders) ;—thus completing your illustrious virtue. ”



费 誓

【原文】

1. 公曰：“嗟！人无哗，听命。徂兹淮夷、徐戎并兴。善敕乃甲冑，敌乃干，无敢不吊！备乃弓矢，锻乃戈矛，砺乃锋刃，无敢不善！

“今惟淫舍牯牛马，杜乃攫，斂乃阱，无敢伤牯。牯之伤，汝则有常刑！

2. “马牛其风，臣妾逋逃，勿敢越逐，祇复之，我商賚汝。乃越逐不复，汝则有常刑！无敢寇攘，逾垣墙，窃马牛，诱臣妾，汝则有常刑！

【今译】

1. 公说：“喂！大家不要喧哗，听取我的命令。现今淮夷、徐戎同时起来作乱。好好缝缀你们的军服头盔，系连你们的盾牌，不许不作好这些准备！准备你们的弓箭，锻炼你们的戈矛，磨利你们的锋刃，不许不准备好！

“现在要大放圈中的牛马，掩盖你们捕兽的工具，填塞你们捕兽的陷阱，不要伤害牛马。伤害了牛马，你们就要受到常刑！

2. “牛马走失了，男女奴仆逃跑了，不许离开队伍去追赶！得到了的，要恭敬送还原主，我会赏赐你们。如果你们擅自离开队伍去追赶，或者不送还原主，你们就要受到常刑！不许抢夺掠取，跨过围墙，偷窃马牛，骗取别人的男女奴仆，这样，你们都要受到常刑！



The Speech at Bi

The duke said, "Ah! ye men, make no noise, but listen to my commands. We are going (to punish) those wild tribes of the Huai and of Xu, which have risen up together.

"Have in good repair your buff coats and helmets; have the laces of your shields well secured;—presume not to have any of them but in perfect order. Prepare your bows and arrows; temper your lances and spears; sharpen your pointed and edged weapons;—presume not to have any of them but in good condition.

"We must now largely let the oxen and horses loose, and not keep them in enclosures;—(ye people), do you close your traps and fill up your; pitfalls, and do not presume to injure any of the animals (so let loose). If any of them be injured, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

"When the horses or cattle are seeking one another, or when your followers, male or female, abscond, presume not to leave the ranks to pursue them. But let them be carefully returned. I will reward you (among the people) who return them according to their value. But if you leave your places to pursue them, or if you who find them do not restore them, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

"And let none of you presume to commit any robbery or detain any creature that comes in your way, to jump over enclosures and walls to steal (people's) horses or oxen, or to decoy away their

【原文】

3. “甲戌，我惟征徐戎。峙乃糗粮，无敢不逮；汝则有大刑！鲁人三郊三遂，峙乃楨干。甲戌，我惟筑，无敢不供，汝则有无余刑，非杀。鲁人三郊三遂，峙乃刍茭，无敢不多；汝则有大刑！”

【今译】

3. “甲戌这天，我们征伐徐戎。准备你们的干粮，不许不到；不到，你们就要受到死刑！我们鲁国三郊三遂的人，要准备你们的筑墙工具。甲戌这天，我们要修筑营垒，不许不供给；如果不供给，你们将受到终身不释放的刑罚，只是不杀头。我们鲁国三郊三遂的人，要准备你们的生草料和干草料，不许不够；如果储备不够，你们就要受到死刑！”





servants or female attendants. If you do so, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

“On the day Jia-Xu I will take action against the hordes of Xu;—prepare the roasted grain and other provisions, and presume not to have any deficiency. If you have, you shall suffer the severest punishment. Ye men of Lu, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with your posts and planks. On Jia-Xu I will commence my intrenchments;—dare not but be provided with a supply of these. (If you be not so provided), you shall be subjected to various punishments, short only of death. Ye men of Lu, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with the forage, and do not dare to let it be other than abundant. (If you do), you shall suffer the severest punishment.”



秦 誓

【原文】

1. 公曰：“嗟！我士，听无哗！予誓告汝群言之首。

“古人有言曰：‘民讫自若，是多盘。’责人斯无难，惟受责俾如流，是惟艰哉！我心之忧，日月逾迈，若弗云来。

“惟古之谋人，则曰‘未就予忌’；惟今之谋人，姑将以为亲。虽则云然，尚猷询兹黄发，则罔所愆。”

2. “番番良士，旅力既愆，我尚有之。伾伾勇夫，射御不违，我尚不欲。惟截截善谀言，俾君子易辞，我皇多有之！

“昧昧我思之，如有一介臣，断断猗无他技，其心休休焉，其如有容。人之有技，若己有之。人之彦圣，其心好之，不啻若自其口

【今译】

1. 穆公说：“啊！我的官员们，听着，不要喧哗！我有重要的话告诉你们。

“古人有话说：‘人只顺从自己的意思，就会出差错。’责备别人不是难事，受到别人责备，从谏如流，这就困难啊！我心里的忧虑，在于时间过去，就不回来了。我想改过，只怕来不及了。

“往日的谋臣，却说‘不能顺从我的意思’；现在的谋臣承顺我的意思，我愿意以他们为亲人。虽说这样，还是要请教白发老人，才没有失误。

2. “白发苍苍的良士，体力已经衰了，我还是亲近他们。强壮勇猛的武士，射箭和驾车都不错，我还是不太喜爱。而那些浅薄善辩的人，使君子容易疑惑，我可能太多亲近他们！

“我暗暗思量着，如果有一个官员，诚实专一而没有别的技能，他的胸怀宽广而能容人。别人有能力，好像自己的一样。有才华有品



The Speech of the Marquis of Qin

The duke said, "Ah! my officers, listen to me without noise. I solemnly announce to you the most important of all sayings. (It is this which) the ancients have said, 'Thus it is with all people,—they mostly love their ease. In reproving others there is no difficulty, but to receive reproof, and allow it to have free course,—this is difficult.' The sorrow of my heart is, that the days and months have passed away, and it is not likely they will come again, (so that I might pursue a different course.)

"There were my old counsellors. —I said, 'They will not accommodate themselves to me', and I hated them. There were my new counsellors, and I would for the time give my confidence to them. So indeed it was with me; but hereafter I will take advice from the men of yellow hair, and then I shall be free from error. That good old officer! —His strength is exhausted, but I would rather have him (as my counsellor). That dashing brave officer! —His shooting and charioteering are faultless, but I would rather not wish to have him. As to men of quibbles, skilful at cunning words, and able to make the good man change his purposes, what have I to do to make much use of them?

"I have deeply thought and concluded. Let me have but one resolute minister, plain and sincere, without other ability, but having a straightforward mind, and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them; and when he



【原文】

出。是能容之，以保我子孙黎民，亦职有利哉！

“人之有技，冒疾以恶之。人之彦圣，而违之俾不达。是不能容，以不能保我子孙黎民，亦曰殆哉！

“邦之机隍，曰由一人；邦之荣怀，亦尚一人之庆。”

【今译】

德，他心底里欢喜，不只是从嘴里赞誉而已。这样能够容人，用来保护我的子孙众民，也或许有利啊！

“别人有能力，就妒忌，就厌恶。别人美好明哲，却阻挠使他不能通向君主。这样不能宽容人，用来也不能保护我的子孙众民，也很危险啊！

“国家的危险不安，由于一人；国家的繁荣安定，也许是由于一人的善良啊！”



finds accomplished and sage men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, really showing himself able to bear them:—such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants and people, and would indeed be a giver of benefits.

“But if(the minister) ,when he finds men of ability, be jealous and hates them; if, when he finds accomplished and sage men, he opposes them and does not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them:—such a man will not be able to protect my descendants and people; and will he not be a dangerous man?

“The decline and fall of a state may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a state may also arise from the goodness of one man. ”